A HISTORY OF THE SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR 1779-1783

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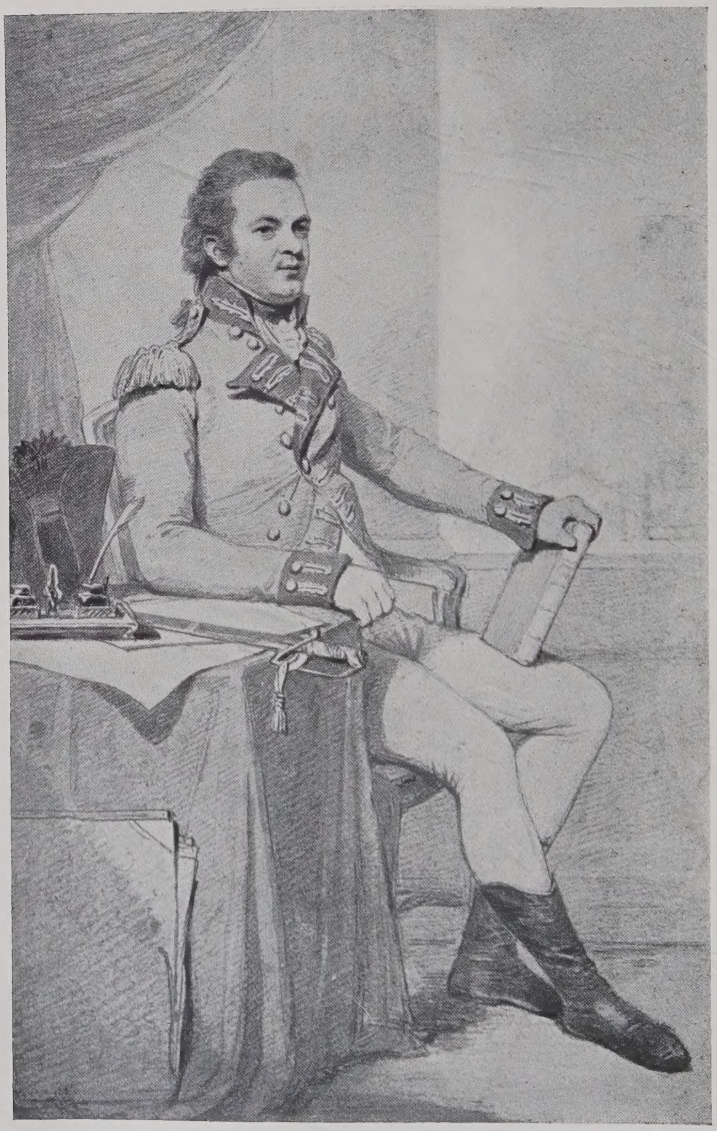

CAPTAIN JOHN DRINKWATER.

[*Frontispiece.*]

A HISTORY OF THE SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR

1779—1783

WITH A DESCRIPTION AND ACCOUNT OF THAT GARRISON FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

BY JOHN DRINKWATER

CAPTAIN IN THE LATE SEVENTY-SECOND REGIMENT
OR ROYAL MANCHESTER VOLUNTEERS

NEW EDITION

"Volatile ferrum
Spargitur, arva nova Neptunia cæde rubescunt."
VIRG.

LONDON
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1905

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TO

THE KING

SIR,

WHEN I solicited the honour of being permitted to place under Your Majesty's protection the following Work, I was not impressed with the idea, that the excellence of the composition, but that the importance of the subject, might in some degree entitle it to that distinction. The History of an Event which reflects so much lustre on Your Majesty's Arms, could not, I apprehended, however feeble the execution, so properly appear under any other auspices.

That Your Majesty may never be less faithfully served, nor less successful against the enemies of Your Crown and People, is the sincere and fervent wish of

YOUR MAJESTY'S
Much obliged and most devoted
Subject and Servant,
JOHN DRINKWATER.

13th September, 1785.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The following History (as I have presumed to call it) is compiled from observations daily noted down upon the spot, for my own satisfaction and improvement, assisted by the information and remarks of several respectable characters, who also were eye-witnesses of the transactions therein recorded.

Disappointed in my expectations of seeing this subject undertaken by an abler pen, nothing less than a conviction that an accurate detail of this extraordinary Siege might be useful, both in a military and historical view, could have induced me, at this late period, to publish.

In the prosecution of this design, one principal difficulty has occurred. The work is addressed to two classes of Readers: those whose principal object in the perusal of it was entertainment, I apprehended, might find the relation too minute and circumstantial; and that, from the insertion of many particulars, which those of the Military Profession would greatly blame an author for presuming to curtail or omit.

With the former, it is hoped that the necessary connection of some events (which at first may appear trivial) with the great business of the History, will be some apology; and I have endeavoured to diversify the narrative, by such Anecdotes and Observations

as will occasionally relieve or awaken the attention. To the latter I shall not attempt any apology. The late Siege of Gibraltar afforded many instances of very singular exertions in the Art of Attack and Defence, the minutiæ of which cannot be without their utility to those Officers who make a science of their profession; and they must be sensible, that without pointed exactness, this design could not have been accomplished. In short, it must be remembered, that the History of this Siege is not that of a *Month*, or of a *Year*, but that it embraces a period of near FOUR YEARS, exhibiting a series of operations perhaps unparalleled.

To Major Vallotton, the Governor's first *aide-de-camp*, and Lieutenant Holloway, *aide-de-camp* to the Chief Engineer, I have particular pleasure in this opportunity of returning thanks for the favour of many kind communications; also to other Officers of Rank, whose names I have not their permission to insert. I must also acknowledge having derived considerable assistance, in the two introductory chapters, from the History of the Herculean Straits. Great additions have, however, been introduced; and I flatter myself upon the whole, that those Chapters will not prove an unacceptable part of the Work, since they will render it as complete a GENERAL HISTORY OF GIBRALTAR as most readers will require.

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MEMOIR OF THE PUBLIC SERVICES OF COLONEL DRINKWATER

One of the Comptrollers of Army Accounts drawn up by Himself

In 1777, Colonel Drinkwater entered the Army in the 72nd Regiment, or Royal Manchester Volunteers, a Corps of 1,000 men, raised, in three months, at the sole expense of the Town of that name, in support of the Government during the American War; and with this Regiment he proceeded to Gibraltar in the Summer of 1778, and served with it during the memorable Blockade, Bombardment, and Siege of that Garrison.

At the Peace of 1783, the 72nd Regiment was disbanded; but before that Event took place, Colonel Drinkwater purchased a company. On being placed on Half Pay, he published a History of the Siege of Gibraltar, which His late most Excellent Majesty George III. was pleased to receive under His immediate Patronage, and ever afterwards graciously honoured Colonel Drinkwater by his particular notice. Having completed this work, Colonel Drinkwater paid the regulated Price to return on active Service, and in 1787 joined the 2nd Battalion of the 1st or Royal Regiment of Foot, then quartered in his old Garrison at Gibraltar.

During his second residence at Gibraltar, Colonel Drinkwater suggested and carried into effect the

measures necessary for the establishment of a Garrison Library, which now consists of a numerous and highly valuable Collection of Literature, on all subjects and in most languages, and which has since become the Model for forming similar Establishments in many other British foreign Garrisons.

Hostilities with Revolutionary France taking place in 1793, the Royal Regiment was detached with other Troops to reinforce Toulon, recently occupied by the coalesced Powers; and General O'Hara being appointed Governor of that Fortress, the General selected Colonel Drinkwater to officiate as his Military Secretary; and he continued to act in that situation under General O'Hara's Successor, Sir David Dundas; and also with Sir Charles Stuart, until Corsica was annexed to the British Dominions; when Colonel Drinkwater was appointed Secretary of the Military Department in Corsica, in which capacity, having under his charge all the Military and Extraordinary Expenditure of that Service, he acted until Corsica was given up in October, 1796.

On the Evacuation of Corsica, the Viceroy, Sir Gilbert Elliot (afterwards created Earl of Minto), returned by Sea to England; and Colonel Drinkwater accompanying His Excellency on that occasion, was so fortunate as to be present in the brilliant Action of Admiral Sir John Jervis's Squadron with the Spanish Fleet off Cape St. Vincent, in February, 1797—the Particulars of which (to do honour to his friend Commodore Nelson's distinguished conduct in that Engagement) Colonel Drinkwater afterwards published.

Colonel Drinkwater's official situation at Toulon having given him an intimate acquaintance with the public transactions on that Service, he had been deputed in 1794, by His Majesty's Commissioners

Lords Hood and Minto, to Leghorn, in order to receive and investigate the numerous claims of the Toulonese, for payment of Articles supplied to the Coalesced Powers at Toulon. On that occasion, demands to the extent of nearly £50,000 were received by him; but having discovered, in these claims, much imposition and fraud, Colonel Drinkwater declined proceeding in the duties of his Mission, and withdrew from Leghorn; which step eventually led to the British Government being saved the Payment of those Demands. Similar knowledge of the general Expenditure in Corsica, led also to Colonel Drinkwater's being urged to superintend the arrangement and settlement of the Public Accounts for that Service, to which he ultimately assented; though not without great reluctance, since, to undertake this duty, he felt it to be necessary, in justice to his Regiment, to retire on Half Pay.

This sacrifice was, however, immediately noticed by Mr. Pitt (then at the head of H.M. Government, and to whom Colonel Drinkwater had been particularly introduced by Lord Minto) in the appointment of Colonel Drinkwater to be Commissary-General of Accounts to the Army employed on the Expedition to Holland in 1799, the Accounts of which Service, both of Cash as well as of Provisions, Colonel Drinkwater arranged for final Audit. Whilst occupied in these Duties, Colonel Drinkwater was pressed by Mr. Pitt to act as First Commissioner of the Board, sent to the West Indies in 1800, to investigate the Military and other Expenditure in that Quarter, which, as well as two other offers made him by the late Earl of Buckinghamshire, of Offices of considerable Trust and Respectability, he declined accepting on account of his being then married and having a young family.

On the renewal of Hostilities with France in 1803, Colonel Drinkwater deemed it his duty to take charge of the Volunteer Corps of his Parish (Ealing, Middlesex), and he had afterwards the Rank of Colonel given him, with the Command of a Brigade, embracing the Corps of Kensington and those of the intermediate Parishes between London and Twickenham.

In 1805, Colonel Drinkwater was named, with General Sir Hildebrand Oakes, etc., to be a member of the Parliamentary Commission of Military Inquiry; and on Sir Hildebrand's being appointed Governor of Malta, succeeded that distinguished Officer in the Chair of that Board; which Colonel Drinkwater occupied for upwards of Five Years; affording a daily and unremitting attention to the duties of that important and laborious investigation. On the change of Administration in 1807, Colonel Drinkwater was offered the Situation of Under Secretary of State in the War and Colonial Department, of which he thought proper to decline the acceptance, as also of the offer of Knighthood. Colonel Drinkwater continued to preside at the Military Board of Inquiry until 1811, when His present Majesty was most graciously pleased to select him as a fit person to succeed Sir Willoughby Gordon in the charge of the Commissariat Department, which, however, was finally entrusted to Mr. Herries, the private Secretary of the then Prime Minister (Mr. Perceval), and Colonel Drinkwater was appointed to be one of the Comptrollers of Army Accounts, in which Office he has now acted upwards of Twelve Years, embracing the most pressing Period of the late unparalleled War.

London,
March, 1824.

ADDITIONAL NOTE AS TO COLONEL DRINKWATER

CONTRIBUTED BY HIS GRANDSON, C. E. MALDEN

COLONEL DRINKWATER continued to hold the office of Comptroller of Army Accounts until its abolition in 1835, when he retired on a pension.

He was born in 1762, and was the son of a medical man practising in Salford.

In 1799, he married Eleanor, daughter of Charles Congleton. In 1801, he was appointed Equerry to H.R.H. the Duke of Kent.

In 1837, he took the additional surname of Bethune, upon his wife succeeding to the Scotch property of her brother, G. Congleton-Bethune.

He died in 1844 at his residence, Thorncroft, Leatherhead. Besides a son and a daughter who died in his lifetime, he left two sons and three daughters surviving: viz. John Elliot, Barrister-at-Law of the Middle Temple, late Counsel to the Home Office, and Legal Member of the Supreme Council of India; Charles Ramsay, an Admiral in the Royal Navy, and C.B.; Eleanor, wife of the Rev. William T. Hadow, Rector of Haseley, Warwickshire; Mary, wife of N. Uniacke, of Mount Uniacke, Co. Cork; and Georgina, wife of Henry Malden, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Professor of Greek in University College, London.

A HISTORY

OF THE

SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR

CHAPTER I

GIBRALTAR is situated in Andalusia, the most southern province of Spain. The Rock is 7 miles in circumference, forming a promontory 3 miles long; and is joined to the continent by an isthmus of low sand: the southern extremity lies in 36° 2′ 30″ N. lat., and in 5° 15′ W. long. from the meridian of London.

Historians, from very early periods, have noticed Gibraltar, or Mons Calpe, by a well-known mythological fiction, denominating it, and Mons Abyla, on the opposite coast of Africa, the Pillars of Hercules. It does not, however, appear that the hill was ever inhabited by the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, or Romans, who, in the first ages of navigation, visited the bay, and built cities in its neighbourhood; or that it ever engaged the attention of those intrepid and successful barbarians who so violently subverted the Roman empire, and established a new government in Spain. The period when it began to be remarked for the natural strength of its situation, seems well ascertained to be in the beginning of the eighth century, when the Saracens (then become a powerful

nation in the east, and along the coast of Africa) invaded Spain, and soon after made themselves masters of the whole country.

The Gothic kingdom, which had existed in Spain for 300 years, was, previous to the invasion of the Saracens, distracted with intestine divisions: the nation in general were become effeminate, totally neglecting the military discipline of their ancestors; and their monarch Roderic, a profligate prince, not a little accelerated their ruin by ravishing the daughter of Count Julian, a nobleman of great wealth and influence, and governor of Ceuta, in Africa. Count Julian, to avenge the dishonour done to his family, combined with other discontented chiefs, who had long complained, and were ripe for a revolt. The tyrant was, however, too powerful for whatever opposition they alone could raise; the count, therefore, secretly retired with his family into Africa, and acquainting Mousa (the Saracen governor of the western provinces) with the divided state of the empire, promised, if he would attempt to dethrone Roderic, to assist him with his own interest, and that of his friends.

Mousa, cautious and prudent, communicated the project to his sovereign the Caliph Al Walid Ebn Abdalmalic, who agreed to try the practicability of it; and, to inspect more accurately the state of affairs, sent over a small detachment. One hundred horse, and 400 foot, were accordingly embarked in the year 711, under the command of Tarif Ebn Zarca, attended by Count Julian, and other Gothic noblemen; this small force soon passed the Herculean Straits, and landed on the coast near the present town of Algeziras, where, finding no opposition, and the country almost defenceless, the Saracen general ravaged the neighbouring towns, and returned laden with spoils, to report the success of his first expedition.

Mousa, elated with the flattering prospect, the following year assembled an army of 12,000 men, and Tarif was appointed to the chief command. Having supplied himself with provisions and stores, Tarif once more embarked on the rapid Strait, and landed on the isthmus between Mons Calpe and the continent. The object of this invasion being of a more serious nature than that of the former, he determined to secure a communication with Africa, by establishing a post on the coast; and, duly estimating the strong natural situation of Mons Calpe, gave orders to erect a castle on the face of the hill, which might answer the original purpose, and also cover his retreat, in case he should be unfortunate in his future operations. The superior part of this once magnificent pile at present remains; and, from an inscription discovered over the principal gate, before it was pulled down, the period of its being finished is ascertained to be about the year of our Lord 725.

Tarif, leaving a garrison at the foot of Mons Calpe (which was now called by the Saracens, in compliment to their general, Gibel-Tarif, or the mountain of Tarif, and thence Gibraltar), marched into the country, and surprised many towns, amongst which was Heraclea, or Carteia, situated on the coast of the bay, about four miles distant from Gibel-Tarif.

King Roderic, receiving intelligence of Tarif's approach, assembled a numerous body of troops to oppose his progress. Both armies met, after several skirmishes, near Xeres, in Andalusia, and a bloody conflict ensued. The victory was for a long time doubtful; but the Gothic army being raw and undisciplined, and part disaffected and joining the Saracens, Tarif at length prevailed, and by this victory was soon in possession of the whole kingdom.

The Goths, or Spaniards, as we will now call them

were driven by the rapid conquests of the invaders into the provinces of Asturias, Biscay, etc., where, like the ancient Britons, they maintained a strenuous and respectable opposition. By degrees they reassumed their former discipline and valour, while their conquerors declined into luxury and effeminacy: they made several excursions from the mountains, recovering, after many obstinate actions, great part of the northern provinces. This success encouraged them to attempt the total rejection of the Arabic yoke. Measures were concerted among the chiefs, to act with union and with vigour. The infidels were attacked and routed in successive engagements; and the kingdoms of Asturias, Galicia, Leon, Navarre, and Castile, erected under different monarchs.

Gibraltar, during these transactions, increased in importance, though not in an equal degree with the neighbouring city of Algeziras, which had been built, posterior to Gibraltar, on the opposite shore of the bay, and was then become a fortress of great magnificence and strength. This celebrated city seems totally to have obscured Gibraltar in the histories of those times, since very trifling mention is made of the latter till the beginning of the fourteenth century, when we learn that Ferdinand, king of Castile, in the course of his conquests, first took it (with a small detachment) from the infidels.

Gibraltar could not at this period be very strong, as it fell so easy a prey to the Christians, whose army had been, and at that time was employed in the siege of Algeziras. It does not, however, appear that Ferdinand was equally successful in his operations against that city; for we find, in the year 1316, the Moors of Granada applying to the emperor of Fez for succour: and, to facilitate their reception, Algeziras and other cities on the coast were put into the hands of the

Africans. We may therefore conclude that Ferdinand was obliged to withdraw from before Algeziras, and that he afterwards directed his force against the infidels in a more vulnerable part, which induced them to apply for the assistance just mentioned.

Gibraltar continued in the possession of the Spaniards till 1333, when Abomelique, son of the emperor of Fez, was dispatched with further assistance to the Moorish king of Granada, and landing at Algeziras, immediately laid siege to Gibraltar, whilst the Granadians were making diversions elsewhere. Alonzo XI. was then on the throne of Castile; and intelligence was immediately sent to inform him of the descent of the Africans. He was, however, prevented from marching to the relief of Gibraltar by a rebellion in his kingdom, and by the approach of Mahomet, king of Granada, towards his frontiers. Abomelique commenced his attack on the castle with great judgment and bravery, and the Spanish governor Vasco Perez de Meyra defended it with equal obstinacy; but Perez having embezzled the money which was advanced to victual the garrison, the troops and inhabitants suffered great distress, and no prospect of relief offering, he was compelled, after five months' siege, to surrender.

Alonzo having quelled the rebellion, and obliged Mahomet to retire, was then marching to the assistance of Perez, and was advanced within a short distance of Gibraltar, when he was informed of the capitulation. He was resolved nevertheless to attempt its recovery before the Moors could victual and repair it: he accordingly proceeded on his route, and encamped before the town five days after it had surrendered. Alonzo divided his army into three parts; the main body occupied the isthmus, the second he sent by boats to the red sands, and the third climbed up

the north of the hill above the town. Several serious attacks had been made on the castle, when Mahomet, king of Granada, joining Abomelique's forces, their combined army encamped in the rear of the Spaniards, extending across the isthmus from the bay to the Mediterranean. This position hemmed in the besiegers, debarred them from foraging, and cut off their communication with the country. Alonzo, though thus critically situated, still maintained the siege; but at length, driven to great difficulties for want of provisions, and hearing that some of his disaffected subjects, taking advantage of his absence, were again in arms, he hearkened to an accommodation, and was permitted to retire with his army.

To be thus disgracefully compelled to raise the siege did not agree with the ambitious and impatient temper of Alonzo: he secretly meditated a new attack whenever an opportunity should occur; and this intention was not a little strengthened by his success in the year 1343-4, when Algeziras was taken, after a most memorable siege. In 1349 the tumults and civil wars in Africa afforded him the opportunity he waited for: great preparations were therefore made for this expedition, which was not esteemed of inferior consequence to the preceding siege of Algeziras, as the Moors, since the loss of that city, had paid great attention to the completion of the works, and to the rendering of the place considerably stronger by additional fortifications; the garrison was also numerous and well provided, and of their choicest troops.

Alonzo encamped before Gibraltar in the beginning of 1349, and immediately laid waste the delightful groves, gardens, and houses of pleasure, which were erected in its neighbourhood. The siege was commenced with great bravery, and though the camp of

the Castilians was much harassed by the flying squadrons of Granadian horse, yet the castle in the course of several months was almost reduced to a capitulation. At this critical period a pestilential disorder swept away numbers of the besiegers, and among the rest Alonzo, who died, much lamented, on the 26th of March, 1350: the Spaniards immediately afterwards raised the siege.

The descendants of Abomelique continued in quiet possession of Gibraltar till 1410, when Jusaf III., king of Granada, availing himself of the intestine divisions which prevailed among the African Moors, took possession of the place. The inhabitants, however, not relishing the government of their new masters, unanimously revolted the following year against the Granadian alcaide, drove him with his garrison out of the town, and wrote to the emperor of Morocco, praying to be taken again under his protection. The emperor dispatched his brother Sayd, with 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot, to their assistance. The king of Granada, being informed that Sayd had garrisoned the castle, marched with an army, and sending his fleet round to the bay, appeared before the place in 1411. Sayd advanced to meet him, but, being worsted in several skirmishes, was obliged to retreat within the castle, and being closely besieged, and reduced to great distress for want of provisions, was at last compelled to submit.

In 1435, Henry de Guzman, Count de Niebla, formed a design of attacking Gibraltar by land and sea; but, imprudently skirmishing with the garrison, from his galleys, before his son John de Guzman arrived with the land forces, he was defeated, and forced to a precipitate retreat; in which confusion he himself lost his life, and many of his followers were killed and drowned.

In 1462, a civil war breaking out in Granada, great

part of the garrison of Gibraltar was withdrawn, to assist one of the competitors for the crown: the governor of Tarifa had intelligence of this by a Moor, who had left the town, and embraced the Christian faith. An army was accordingly assembled from the neighbouring garrisons, and Gibraltar was besieged. The inhabitants defended it with great resolution; but, fresh troops joining the besiegers, the garrison surrendered to John de Guzman, Duke de Medina Sidonia (son of the unfortunate Count de Niebla), who, hearing that the place was reduced to great distress, hastened to the camp, and arrived just in time to be present when the Moors capitulated. From this period it has remained in the hands of the Christians, after having been in the possession of the Mahometans 748 years. The news of this conquest was so acceptable to Henry IV., of Castile and Leon, that he added it to his royal titles, and gave it for arms, *Gules*, a castle, *proper*, with a key pendent to the gate, *or* (alluding to its being the key to the Mediterranean); which arms have ever since been continued. Pedro de Porras was appointed governor; but the succeeding year King Henry made a journey to Gibraltar, and superseded him, giving the command to Don Bertrand de la Cueva, Count Lederma, who placed the trust in the hands of Stephano Villacreces: the Duke de Medina Sidonia, however, afterwards recovered and enjoyed it, till the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1502, when it was annexed to the crown.

In the year 1540, Piali Hamet, one of Barbarossa's captains, surprised and pillaged Gibraltar, making prisoners of many of the principal inhabitants; but being met on his return by some galleys from Sicily, the corsairs were all killed or taken, and the prisoners redeemed.

In 1589, during the reign of Charles V., the fortifications of the town were modernised and several additions made by Daniel Speckel, the emperor's engineer; after which the place was thought to be impregnable. From this time there appears a chasm in the history of the garrison till the year 1704, when Gibraltar was wrested (most probably for ever) from the dominion of Spain, by the English, under Admiral Sir George Rooke. This officer had been sent into the Mediterranean, with a strong fleet, in the spring of 1704, to assist Charles, archduke of Austria, in obtaining the crown of Spain; but, his instructions being limited, nothing of importance was done. Sensible of the reflections that would fall on him, for being inactive with so powerful a fleet, he held a council of war, on the 17th of July, 1704, near Tetuan, at which several schemes were proposed, particularly a second attack upon Cadiz, which, however, was thought impracticable for want of a sufficient body of land forces. At length it was resolved to make a sudden and vigorous attempt on Gibraltar.

The 21st of the same month, the fleet arrived in the bay; and 1,800 men, English and Dutch, commanded by the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, were landed on the isthmus. The prince then summoned the garrison; but the governor refusing to surrender, preparations were made for the attack. By daybreak on the 23rd, the ships appointed to cannonade the town, under Admirals Byng and Vanderdussen, with those that were destined to batter the new mole, commanded by Captains Hicks and Jumper, were at their several stations. The admiral made the signal to begin the cannonade, which was performed with great vivacity and effect, so that the enemy, in five or six hours, were driven from their guns, especially from the new mole head. The admiral, considering

that by gaining that fortification the town might sooner be reduced, ordered Captain Whitaker, with the armed boats, to possess himself of it; but Captains Hicks and Jumper, who lay next the mole, pushed ashore with their pinnaces, before the rest came up; whereupon the Spaniards sprung a mine, which blew up the fortifications, killed 2 lieutenants and 40 men, and wounded 60. The assailants nevertheless kept possession of the work, and being joined by Captain Whitaker, advanced and took a small redoubt,* half-way between the mole and the town. The Marquis de Salines, who was governor, being again summoned, thought proper to capitulate: hostages were therefore exchanged, and the Prince of Hesse, on the 24th of July, 1704, took possession of the gates.

Notwithstanding the works were very strong, mounting 100 pieces of ordnance, well appointed with ammunition and stores; yet the garrison, at most, consisted of only 150 men, exclusive of the inhabitants. The marquis marched out with all the honours of war, and the Spaniards who chose to remain were allowed the same privileges as they had enjoyed under King Charles II. The loss of the English in this attack was, 2 lieutenants, 1 master, 57 sailors, killed; 1 captain, 7 lieutenants, 1 boatswain, 207 sailors, wounded.

The Prince of Hesse remained governor; and as many men as could well be spared from the fleet were left as a garrison. Sir George Rooke afterwards sailed for Tetuan, to wood and water. This being performed, he steered up the Mediterranean, and on the 13th of August, off Malaga, engaged the French fleet, under the command of Count de Toulouse. The action was long and warm; but many of the English ships, having expended a great quantity of ammunition

* The present 8-gun battery.

in taking Gibraltar, were soon obliged to quit the line; which gave the enemy a decided superiority. The engagement ended in a drawn battle; and Sir George returned to Gibraltar, where he stayed eight days to refit; and then supplying the prince with what men and provisions he could spare, sailed thence on the 4th of September, N.S., on his way home, leaving 18 men-of-war under the command of Sir John Leake, at Lisbon, to be in readiness to succour the garrison, if there should be occasion.

The courts of Madrid and Paris were greatly concerned at the loss of so important a fortress as Gibraltar, and, considering its recovery of the last consequence to the cause, the Marquis de Villadarias, a grandee of Spain, was ordered to besiege, and endeavour to retake it. The Prince of Hesse, apprised of their intentions, and being further informed that they were to be assisted by a naval force from Toulon, sent advice to Sir John Leake, requesting assistance and supplies. Sir John prepared for this duty; but in the meantime a fleet of French ships arrived, and landed six battalions, which joined the Spanish army. After disembarking their reinforcements, the French squadron proceeded to the westward, leaving only six frigates in the bay.

On the 11th of October, 1704, the Marquis opened his trenches against the town; and soon afterwards Sir John Leake arrived with 20 sail of English and Dutch ships: hearing, however, that the enemy were preparing to attack him with a superior force, he thought it most eligible immediately to retire and refit, that he might be in a better condition to supply and assist the garrison, in a second expedition, for which he had very prudently directed preparations to be made at Lisbon in his absence. On the 25th he again put to sea; and on the 29th unexpectedly entering

the bay, surprised three frigates, a fire-ship, two English prizes, a tartan, and a store-ship. He then landed the reinforcements, and supplied the garrison with six months' provisions and ammunition, at the same time detaching on shore a body of 500 sailors to assist in repairing the breaches which had been made by the enemy's fire. The arrival of the admiral was very opportune and critical; for that very night the marquis had resolved to attack the place by sea and land at five different points; for which purpose he had assembled 200 boats from Cadiz, etc.

Though disappointed in their designs, the Spaniards still entertained hopes of taking the fortress; and supposing the troops would be less on their guard while the fleet was in the bay, they formed the desperate scheme of surprising the garrison, though the British admiral was before the town, The 31st of October, 500 volunteers took the sacrament, never to return till they had taken Gibraltar. This forlorn party was conducted by a goat-herd to the south side of the Rock, near the Cave-guard (at that time called the Pass of Locust-trees). Fortune, in the beginning, so far favoured the enterprise, that they mounted the Rock, and lodged themselves unperceived the first night in St. Michael's cave; the succeeding night they scaled Charles the Fifth's wall; surprised and put to death the guard at the Signal-house and at Middle-hill, where afterwards, by ropes and ladders, they got up several hundreds of the party who had been ordered to sustain them; but being discovered, a strong detachment of grenadiers marched up immediately from the town, and attacked them with such spirit, that 160 of them were killed, or driven over the precipice, and a colonel and 30 officers, with the remainder, taken prisoners. These brave, but

unfortunate adventurers, were to have been supported by a body of French troops, and some feints were to have been made below to engage the attention of the garrison; but the commanding officers disagreeing, they were left to their fortune.

Sir John Leake was not idle whilst he remained in the bay, but was continually alarming the enemy on their coasts. The 22nd of November he had information, by one of his cruisers, that a strong squadron was fitting out at Cadiz, which would be soon ready for sea; and receiving further intelligence, that a convoy, fitted out from Lisbon for the relief of Gibraltar, was on its way, he prepared to join it off Lagos, in order to protect it past Cadiz; but was confined within the Straits by a westerly wind. The prince, in the meantime, redoubled his exertions to prevent the enemy's designs, who flattered themselves that on the arrival of their fleet from Cadiz, Sir John would be obliged to retire, and the garrison surrender to their united attacks. Their fire was continued with additional vivacity, many cannon in the place were dismounted, and the works were materially injured in different parts.

Affairs were in this situation, when part of the long-wished-for succours arrived on the 7th of December; and two days following, the remainder came in with near 2,000 men, with proportionable ammunition and provisions. They sailed from Lisbon under convoy of four frigates, and thought themselves safe on discovering, off Cape Spartel, a fleet of men-of-war, under English and Dutch colours: expecting to meet Sir John, with the combined fleet, at the entrance of the Straits, they endeavoured to join them, but fortunately were becalmed: they then hoisted out their boats to tow the ships, when, perceiving the men-of-war extend themselves in form of a half-moon,

in order to surround them, they began to suspect some deception, and accordingly made a private signal, which totally frustrated the enemy's measures, who were thereby discovered, and, striking their false colours, endeavoured to fall upon the transports; but these latter, being lighter vessels, escaped by their oars, and, night coming on, steered for the bay, with the loss of only two transports. It was now thought no longer necessary to detain the fleet in the bay, or on the coast; especially when Monsieur Pointis was so near, with a superior force. Sir John accordingly arrived at Lisbon the latter end of the year.

The Spanish general being reinforced with a considerable body of infantry, made an attack, on the 11th of January, 1705, with 60 grenadiers on the works at the extremity of the King's lines; but, two officers and several others being killed, the rest retreated. This repulse did not, however, discourage him; for, early on the succeeding day, the attack was renewed by 500 or 600 grenadiers, French and Walons, supported by 1,000 Spaniards, under Lieutenant-General Tuy. Their disposition was to storm a breach which had been made in the round tower, at the extremity of the King's lines, and another in the intrenchment on the hill. The retrenchment which covered the latter breach, with part of the intrenchment joining the precipice of the Rock, was defended at night by a captain, 3 subalterns, and 90 men; but it was customary for the captain to withdraw, with 2 subalterns and 60 men, at daybreak. The round tower was defended by 180 men, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel. The marquis, by deserters from the garrison, had obtained intelligence of the strength of these posts, and concerted his attack accordingly. The detachment for the upper breach mounted the Rock at dead of night

and concealed themselves in the clefts till the captain had withdrawn. They then advanced to the point of the intrenchment, and, throwing grenades on the subaltern and his party, obliged them to retreat. At the same time 300 men stormed the round tower, where Lieutenant-Colonel Barr made a vigorous defence, though the enemy having passed the breach above, annoyed him on the flank with great stones and grenades: observing, however, the Spaniards marching down to cut off his retreat from the town, he retired, and by getting over the parapet of the King's lines, descended into the covered way, where the English guards were posted. By this time the garrison was alarmed; all the regiments assembled at their proper posts; and Captain Fisher endeavoured to stop the progress of the enemy with 17 men, but was repulsed and himself taken prisoner. Lieutenant-Colonel Moncal, at last, with 400 or 500 men, charged them with such bravery, that they were repulsed, and the tower was retaken after it had been in their possession upwards of an hour. Soon after this attack, six companies of Dutch troops, and 200 English soldiers, were received by the garrison, with provisions and stores.

The Spaniards and French were still obstinately bent on the recovery of Gibraltar. The Marquis de Villadarias was superseded by the Marshal Tessé, a French general; and Monsieur Pointis was directed to co-operate with the marshal in blocking up the port with a powerful fleet. The marshal joined the army with four fresh battalions, besides eight companies which had been sent before. The ordnance, which from constant use had been greatly injured, were totally exchanged; and the works, as they then stood, were put in the best repair.

The English ministry had been informed of the

enemy's new arrangements; and, sensible of the importance of Gibraltar, ordered a reinforcement, under Sir Thomas Dilkes and Sir John Hardy, to join Admiral Sir John Leake in Lisbon. The junction being effected, and his own fleet refitted, Sir John, on the 6th of March, sailed with 28 English, 4 Dutch, and 8 Portuguese men-of-war, having on board two battalions. Happily for the besieged, the incessant rains about this period had retarded the marshal's operations, and greatly distressed Monsieur Pointis, several of whose ships were forced from their anchors by a strong westerly wind, and driven to the eastward. He, with the remainder of his squadron, was quitting the bay, when the British admiral entered the Straits, and about half-past five, on the morning of the 10th, was almost abreast of Cabrita Point. Sir John Leake, discovering five sail making out of the bay, and a gun fired at them from the garrison, concluded that the town was safe, and immediately gave chase. Three French ships of the line were taken, and Admiral Pointis's ship and another run ashore and burnt. Sir John afterwards looked into Malaga, where some of the ships that had been driven from the harbour had taken shelter; but, hearing the report of the guns, they had made the best of their way to Toulon. Sir John, finding the pursuit of them in vain, returned on the 19th to Gibraltar, which was now so well supplied, that Marshal Tessé withdrew his troops from the trenches, and formed a blockade; drawing an intrenchment across the isthmus, to prevent the garrison from ravaging the country.

In the course of this siege, the enemy did not lose fewer than 10,000 men, including those who died of sickness, etc. The garrison lost about 400.

The Prince of Hesse remained in the place while

the batteries were repaired: he made also some additions to the fortifications, and left the garrison much stronger than it was before the siege. The prince then joined the Archduke Charles at Lisbon, where the combined fleets of England and Holland were assembled to support that prince in obtaining the crown of Spain.

As the archduke was resolved to try his fortune with the Earl of Peterborough, in Valencia and Catalonia, the Prince of Hesse was sent back to Gibraltar, to prepare part of the garrison to embark, and soon after was followed by the fleet; upon whose arrival, in August, 1705, the archduke was received by the garrison as lawful sovereign of Spain, and proclaimed by the title of Charles III. Having taken on board the English guards, and three old regiments, leaving only two new battalions in the town (as there was no danger to be apprehended from the enemy), they proceeded, on the 5th of August, for Valencia. His majesty then appointed Major-General Ramos, who had been present during the siege, governor of Gibraltar; and sent with him about 400 men for its greater security. General Ramos afterwards resigned his government, and was succeeded by Colonel Roger Elliot; during whose government Gibraltar was made a free port, by a special order from her majesty Queen Anne.

The following was the governor's manifesto on the occasion:

"By the Hon. Roger Elliot, colonel of one of her majesty's regiments of foot, and governor of the city and garrison of Gibraltar.

"Whereas her majesty of Great Britain, etc., hath been graciously pleased, by her warrant to me, dated 19th February last, to confirm her former declarations for the freedom of this port, and to regulate

and command me not to permit any duty or imposition whatsoever to be laid or received for any ship or vessel, or for any goods, wares, merchandise, or provisions, imported or exported out of this port; but that the same be free and open for all ships and vessels, goods, wares, merchandise, and provisions: these are to make known and publish her said majesty's royal will and pleasure; and all persons concerned are hereby strictly required to take notice thereof, not presuming to demand or receive any duty or imposition whatsoever for any ship or vessel, or for any goods, wares, merchandise, or provisions, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

"Given at Gibraltar, April, 1706."

Colonel Congreve was commandant before 1714. He was succeeded by Colonel Cotton. In 1720 Gibraltar seems to have been threatened by the Spaniards. Ceuta, a Spanish fortress in Barbary, had then been besieged many years by the Moors; and a formidable force, commanded by the Marquis de Leda, was assembled in Gibraltar Bay, under pretence of relieving it, but with a secret intention of first surprising Gibraltar; for which purpose they had procured scaling-ladders, etc., etc. This armament was not fitted out so secretly but that the British ministry had timely notice, and, suspecting some finesse, dispatched orders to Colonel Kane, governor of Minorca, immediately to embark a part of his garrison, and repair to Gibraltar, under convoy of the fleet in the Mediterranean. On his arrival he found Gibraltar in a very critical situation; the garrison consisting only of three weak battalions, commanded by Major Hetherington, who, except Major Batteroux, was the only field-officer in the place. Many officers were absent, only fourteen

days' provisions in the stores, and many Spaniards in the town, with a fleet before its walls. Such was the feeble posture of affairs when he opportunely arrived with 500 men, provisions and ammunition. The British commodore acted afterwards in so spirited a manner, that the Marquis de Leda was obliged to sail for Ceuta, though he continued of opinion that the garrison might have been taken by a general assault.

This scheme proving abortive, Gibraltar remained unmolested till the latter end of the year 1726, when the Spaniards, who had kept a watchful eye on the garrison, assembled an army in the neighbourhood of Algeziras. On the 20th of January following, they encamped on the plain below St. Roque, and began to erect a battery on the beach to protect their camp. Admiral Hopson was then at anchor in the bay, with a very formidable fleet; but, as he had not received any intelligence of hostilities having commenced between the courts of Great Britain and Madrid, he was with reluctance compelled to overlook the transporting of provisions, artillery, and ammunition from Algeziras (where they had formed their depôts) to the camp. Brigadier Kane, who had been a second time ordered from Minorca to Gibraltar, lay also under similar embarrassments with the admiral. The operations of the enemy, however, tending towards a direct attack upon the garrison, he thought it prudent to order the Spaniards out of the town, and forbid their galleys anchoring under his guns.

It must be understood that Gibraltar had undergone considerable alterations since the siege of 1705: several works had been erected on the heights above the lines, which were distinguished by the name of Willis's batteries; the Prince's lines were also extended to the extremity of the Rock; and an inundation with

a causeway was formed out of the morass that was in front of the grand battery.

The Count de Las Torres commanded the Spanish forces, amounting to near 20,000 men; and soon after his camp was formed, he advanced within reach of the garrison. The brigadier thereupon dispatched a parley, to desire "That he would withdraw from the range of his guns, otherwise he should do his utmost to force him." The count answered, "That, as the garrison could command no more than they had power to maintain, he should obey his Catholic majesty's orders, and encroach as far as he was able." Notwithstanding this insult, as war had not been formally declared, the brigadier waived commencing hostilities, till the Spaniards, by their proceedings, should oblige him, in defence of his command.

In the beginning of February, Brigadier Clayton, the lieutenant-governor, arrived with reinforcements, on board Sir Charles Wager's fleet; and a council of war was immediately summoned, but the result was a determination not to fire upon the Spaniards. The 10th of February, the enemy brought materials for batteries to the old windmill, on the neutral ground; upon which the lieutenant-governor again collected the sense of the admirals and field-officers; when in the second council it was unanimously agreed that the Spanish general had made open war in encroaching so far on the liberties of the garrison. This being their opinion, Brigadier Clayton sent a parley to the count, to know the reason of his breaking ground: to which the count replied, that "he was on his master's ground, and was not answerable to any other person for his conduct." As this answer directly indicated the hostile intentions of the Spaniards, the lieutenant-governor, in the evening, withdrew the out-guard, and the succeeding day in

the afternoon opened the Old Mole and Willis's batteries on their workmen. They persisted, nevertheless, in carrying on the work; and at night a large party marched down to the Devil's Tower, where they immediately broke ground, and began a communication with their other work. This party were greatly annoyed in marching to their post, but were soon under cover of the Rock, where the guns could not be depressed to bear upon them.

Numbers of the enemy deserted to the garrison, by whom, on the 17th, the lieutenant-governor was informed that they were constructing a mine, in a cave under Willis's, with an intention, if possible, to blow up that battery. The engineers on this intelligence reconnoitred the cave; which, after some difficulty, they discovered, with a sentry at the entrance; and a party was immediately stationed to annoy the communication with musketry. On the morning of the 22nd, the count opened on the garrison, with seventeen pieces of cannon, besides mortars. The day following Brigadier Kane left the garrison, to detach a reinforcement from Minorca. In the meantime Sir Charles Wager and Admiral Hopson, with the fleet under their command, were constantly distressing the enemy, by intercepting their homeward-bound ships; and the prizes which were brought into the bay greatly benefited the besieged. The 3rd of March, the enemy opened a new battery of twenty-two guns on the old mole and town; and on the 8th, another of fifteen guns, bearing also upon the old mole, which, it seems, proved a troublesome battery to the western flank of their approaches.

The lieutenant-governor continued a constant and well-directed fire from all the batteries that bore upon their works: but the ordnance in general being old were bursting daily on the batteries; by which

accidents the garrison experienced more casualties than from all the fire of the enemy. The 27th, Colonel Middleton's regiment arrived, also six companies and a half of Colonel Hay's, with two engineers, a captain of artillery, and several bombardiers, gunners, and matrosses, with 140 recruits for the other regiments.

The admirals, the 2nd of April, formed the design of bombarding Algeziras, whence the enemy were constantly supplied with various articles of ammunition; but the ships, after getting under way, were becalmed, and obliged to come to anchor; after which the navy never gave themselves any further concern about annoying them in that quarter. On the 10th Colonel Cosby arrived in the *Solebay*, with 500 men, from Minorca; and two days following the admirals sailed to the westward, leaving Commodore Davies behind, with six men-of-war and the sloops. Sir Charles did not return during the siege. The 16th, the lieutenant-governor ordered two sergeants, with ten men each, to advance from the spur-guard, under the Rock, and along the causeway, and alarm the enemy in the trenches; giving them directions to retire when they found their guards sufficiently alarmed, when he intended to salute them with grape, etc., from Willis's and the lines. These orders were executed, and the enemy instantly beat to arms; but the bombardier appointed to give the signal to the batteries, firing too soon, the enemy saw through the design, and retired without any considerable loss.

Lord Portmore, the governor, arrived on the 21st, with a battalion of guards, and another of the line; also Colonel Watson, of the artillery, with several noblemen as volunteers. The 26th, the count opened a new battery against Willis's and the extremity of Prince's lines. Their batteries now mounted sixty cannon, besides mortars. In the beginning of May

the garrison had intelligence that the enemy designed an assault: precautions were accordingly taken, and the guns on the lower defences loaded with grape. The Spaniards added still to their approaches, and raised various communications to and from their advanced batteries. Towards the 16th and 20th their firing abated, but their engineers proceeded in advancing their trenches. On the 31st a vessel arrived with 375 barrels of powder from Lisbon. The 3rd of June the *Solebay* came in, with a further supply of 980 barrels of powder and 500 13-inch shells, from Mahon. The firing continued till the 12th, when about ten at night Colonel Fitzgerald, of the Irish brigade, beat a parley, and being admitted into the garrison, delivered letters to Lord Portmore from the Dutch minister at the court of Madrid, with a copy of the preliminaries of a general peace; whereupon a suspension of arms took place and all hostilities ceased on both sides.

The garrison lost in the whole about 300 killed and wounded; and 70 cannon, with 30 mortars, burst during the siege. The enemy's casualties could never be ascertained. In killed, wounded, etc., it was computed they lost near 3,000 men.

When Lord Portmore and the count agreed to a cessation, the Spaniards of course were compelled to forsake the mine under Willis's: their parties, however, taking possession of it a second time, his lordship considered it as a breach of the articles of cessation, and represented it accordingly. The count afterwards withdrew; the works were dismantled and levelled, and the troops retreated to their different cantonments.

The Spaniards during this siege never made the least attempt to cut off the communication by sea; so that the garrison was regularly supplied with

provisions and fascines from Barbary, and had a regular correspondence with England.

In 1728 the Parliament of Great Britain addressed his majesty King George II., to take effectual care, in the treaty then pending, to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. Overtures had been made by his majesty George I. to restore the former to Spain, if the parliament would have consented to such restitution; but the minister, finding an opposition, declined proceeding in the business. In 1730 Lieutenant-General Sabine was governor of Gibraltar. The Spaniards during his government erected the forts and lines across the isthmus, about a mile from the garrison, which effectually prevent any communication with the country, and, as we have experienced, are of considerable advantage in case of a siege. The western fort, called St. Philip's, entirely commands the best anchorage on the side of the bay next the garrison. Lieutenant-General Columbine succeeded General Sabine, and he was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Hargrave.

General Bland was appointed governor in 1749, at which time a general relief of troops took place. The establishment at that period was four battalions of infantry and a company of artillery. Lord George Beauclerk and the Hon. General Herbert were severally commandants in the absence of General Bland; and in 1755 Lieutenant-General Fowkes was deputed governor. Lord Tyrawley succeeded him, in whose absence the Earl of Panmure was commandant. Earl Home was afterwards governor, and died there in 1761. During the government of this nobleman, about the year 1760, an incident occurred which, as it alarmed the garrison very much at that time, is deserving of notice. Two British regiments had been

a very considerable time on that station, and, from the continuance of the war, saw little prospect of being relieved. Amongst these a conspiracy was formed by some disaffected persons to surprise, plunder, and massacre their officers, and in short all whom they judged to be averse to their designs. After securing the money which was intended for the payment of the troops, they meant to purchase for themselves a secure retreat, by surrendering this so-much-wished-for fortress into the hands of Spain. The numbers who joined the conspirators were not fewer than 730. An accidental quarrel in a wine-house defeated this dangerous project, and produced a discovery. Reed, a private in the 7th regiment, was executed on the Grand Parade as the ringleader; and ten others were condemned.

After the death of Lord Home, Colonel Tovey and Major-General Parslow were each commandants, till the Hon. Lieutenant-General Cornwallis was appointed governor. During this general's absence from the garrison, Colonel Irwin was commandant; and on General Cornwallis leaving Gibraltar a second time, Major-General Boyd, lieutenant-governor, commanded. In this general's government the garrison was considerably strengthened with three new bastions on the sea-line, and additional improvements at the southward.

In 1776 the Right Hon. General George Augustus Eliott was appointed governor of that important fortress, and joined his command in 1777.

In 1787 General Eliott, who had been honoured in 1783 with the Order of the Bath for his glorious defence of Gibraltar, returned to England, and Major-General O'Hara was appointed commandant during his absence.

CHAPTER II

As the history which is to be the subject of the following pages will be more in detail than the preceding narrative, it may on some accounts be necessary, and cannot on any, I flatter myself, be disagreeable, to present the reader with a short description of this celebrated Rock, and the fortifications which have been erected for its defence.

The promontory, or rock, at the foot of which stands the town, is upwards of 1,300 feet in height; projecting into the sea several miles from the continent, with which it is connected by an isthmus of low sand. This appearance makes it not improbable that Mons Calpe in former ages has been totally surrounded by the sea. The north front of the peninsula, which presents itself to the mainland, is of various heights. The breadth of the isthmus, at the foot of the rock, is about 900 yards; but it grows considerably wider towards the country. Across this isthmus (which, with Gibraltar and the opposite coast, forms the bay) the Spaniards have drawn a fortified line at about a mile's distance from the garrison, extending 1,700 yards, and embracing both shores; a fort of masonry is erected at each extremity, mounting 23 or 24 guns each; these forts are of different forms, and are called Fort St. Philip and Fort St. Barbara. The former of them commands the best and the usual anchoring place of our shipping and small craft, and, by forming a cross-fire with

GIBRALTAR LOOKING WEST.

From a water-colour drawing by A. H. Hallam Murray.

[*To face p.* 26.

Fort St. Barbara on the neutral ground, prevents all communication between the garrison and the country.

The Rock, as I have mentioned before, is upwards of 1,300 feet perpendicular above the level of the sea; and is separated by a ridge from north to south, dividing it into two unequal parts. The western front or division is a gradual slope, interspersed with precipices; but the opposite side, looking to the Mediterranean, and the north front facing the Spanish lines, are both naturally very steep, and totally inaccessible. It is this peculiar circumstance which forms the chief strength of Gibraltar.

The town is built at the foot of the north-west face of the hill, and is fortified in an irregular manner. The communication with it from the isthmus is by a long narrow causeway (serving as a dam to an inundation), which is defended by a curtain, with two bastions, mounting 26 pieces of cannon, a dry ditch, covered way, and glacis well mined. These, with the causeway, are warmly flanked by the King's, Queen's, and Prince's lines; works cut in the rock with immense labour, and scarped to be almost inaccessible. Above the lines are the batteries at Willis's, and others at different heights, until they crown the summit of the rock, where several batteries are erected for cannon and mortars. These batteries, the lowest of which is upwards of 400 feet above the neutral ground, mount between 50 and 60 pieces of heavy ordnance, and entirely command the isthmus below. Exclusive of what are here mentioned, additional works of a singular nature were projected in 1782, which, with others in the lines, on a similar plan, that are (1789) executing under the direction of Major-General O'Hara, will render Gibraltar almost impregnable in that quarter. The old mole, to the

west of the grand battery, forms also a very formidable flank, and, with the lines, a cross-fire on the causeway and neutral ground. This battery has been found so great an annoyance to the besiegers, that, by way of distinction, it has long been known under the appellation of the Devil's Tongue. Indeed, the ordnance in the lines, upon the grand battery, and the Old Mole, all together, exhibit so formidable an appearance to a spectator on the causeway, that the entrance into the garrison is called by the Spaniards the Mouth of Fire.

From the grand battery, along the sea-line, looking towards the bay, the town is defended by the North, Montague's,* Prince of Orange's, King's, and South bastions; the line-wall or curtains between which mount many cannon and mortars. Montague's, Prince of Orange's and King's bastions have been erected lately. The latter is a very complete piece of fortification, commanding the bay from New to Old Mole heads, and mounting 12 32-pounders and 4 10-inch howitzers in front, 10 guns and howitzers on its flanks, and has casemates for 800 men, with kitchens and ovens for cooking. Montague's is much smaller, mounts only 12 pieces of cannon, but has a casement for 200 men, communicating with the Old Mole. In 1782 the engineers began a cavalier upon this bastion for 2 guns; but it was not finished till after the grand attack in

* These bastions and the connecting curtains were so much injured in the last siege, that it was thought necessary to take them down, and strengthen this part of the town fortifications by an extensive line of new works projecting to a considerable distance into the sea; the foundations of which were laid in 1788. Many officers, however, doubt whether the substantial defences of Gibraltar are improved by these alterations. Some additions were likewise made in the same place to the grand battery and at Land Port, where they were more wanted.

September. Another work of this nature was likewise erected in the beginning of the blockade, for 5 guns, on the north bastion of the grand battery. The town on the sea-line is not less protected by natural defences than by fortifications. A shoal of sharp rocks extends along the front far into the bay, and prevents ships of large burthen from approaching very near the walls.

From the south bastion (which is considerably higher than the rest of the works, in order to protect the town from the eminences on the red sands) a curtain extends up the face of the hill, and concludes, at an inaccessible precipice, the works of the town. In this curtain is the South Port gate, before which, and the south bastion, is a dry ditch, with a covered way and glacis. At the east end, on the declivity of the hill, above the gate, is a large flat bastion connected with the curtain, and mounting 13 guns, bearing on the bay, etc. This work is covered by a demi-bastion that joins the precipice. Above the precipice an old Moorish wall is continued to the ridge of the rock; in the front of which a curtain with loop-holes and redans (built in the reign of the Emperor Charles V., and called after his name) extends to the top, effectually cutting off all communication in that quarter. Between the Moorish and Charles the Fifth's walls is the signal-house; whence on a serene and clear day, the guard have an unbounded view of the Mediterranean, and can just observe a part of the Atlantic Ocean over the Spanish mountains. Signals formerly were made at this post on the appearance of top-sail vessels from east and west; but soon after the commencement of the late war we discovered that the Spanish cruisers were more frequently informed of the approach of our friends by our signals than by their own. The signals were therefore

discontinued during the siege, but were resumed after the general peace of 1783.

The above account comprehends a general description of the fortifications of the town, avoiding too minute a detail of each work. I shall therefore proceed in describing, in the same general manner, the works to the southward.

From the south bastion a line-wall is continued along the beach to the New Mole, where an irregular fort is erected, mounting 26 guns. This line-wall is divided by a small bastion of 8 guns; and in its rear is a retired work, called the Princess of Wales's lines, in which are several strong batteries for the sea. Near the south bastion, though without the town, is a wharf called Ragged Staff, where the supplies for the garrison are usually landed, being convenient from its vicinity to the victualling-office and store-houses in the town. The communication to this quay is by spiral wooden stairs, and a drawbridge opening into the covered way; in front of which is a small work of masonry mounting 2 guns. At the foot of the stairs is the basin, where shipping take in water. Two tanks are also appropriated to this purpose near the 8-gun bastion.

Within the New Mole there is depth of water sufficient for a ship of the line to lie alongside the wharf and heave down. At the mole head is a circular battery for heavy metal, joined to the New Mole fort by a strong wall, fraised; having a banquette for musketry, with two embrasures opening towards the bay. This mole, with the Old Mole at Water Port, were built for the accommodation of trading vessels: the former, however, is generally occupied by men-of-war; and the latter, not having more than 6 feet at low water, only admits small craft to the wharfs; merchantmen of large burthen are obliged, therefore,

to anchor about half or threequarters of a mile from Water Port, in 7 or 8 fathoms. But in time of war this anchorage is commanded by the Spanish forts; they are consequently, in case of a rupture with Spain, under the necessity of removing to the southward of the New Mole, where the ground is so rocky and foul that they are often in imminent danger during the strong southerly winds. From the New Mole fort to the north end of Rosia Bay, the rock is difficult of access; nevertheless a parapet is continued, and batteries are erected, as situations dictate. The works at Rosia are strong, and flank each other. They are close along the beach, which is low, and have a retired battery of 8 guns in the rear.

The rock continues to ascend from the south point of Rosia Bay, by Parson's Lodge (behind which, upon an eminence, is a new battery *en barbet*, on traversing carriages), to Campguard, and Buena Vista; so called from the beautiful prospect which is there presented to a spectator of the bay and the neighbouring kingdoms of Barbary and Spain. A line-wall is raised, notwithstanding the rock being inaccessible, with cannon at different distances. At Buena Vista there are several guns *en barbet*, which have great command; and the hill towards Europe is slightly fortified, which gives it the appearance, at a distance, of an old castle repaired. The rock then descends by the Devil's Bowling-green, so named from the irregularity of its surface, to Little Bay. At this post, which is totally surrounded with precipices, there is a barbet battery, flanking the works to the new mole; thence the rock continues naturally steep for a considerable distance, when the line-wall and batteries recommence, and extend in an irregular manner to Europa Point, the southern extremity of the garrison, though not the southern point of Europe. The rock from this point

is regularly perpendicular to Europa Advance, where a few batteries, and a post at the Cave-guard, terminate the works. The fortifications along the sea-line at Europa do not, however, constitute the principal strength of that part of the garrison. The retired and inaccessible lines of Windmill Hill have great command, and, being situated within musket-shot of the sea, are very formidable, and of great consequence in that quarter.

The preceding description, it is hoped, will be sufficiently explanatory. The new bastions on the sea-line were planned and executed by, and under the direction of, the chief engineer, Major-General Sir William Green, Bart. Lieutenant-General Robert Boyd laid the foundation-stone of the King's bastion, in the absence of General Cornwallis, the governor. The garrison also underwent considerable alterations whilst he commanded: Windmill Hill was fortified, and other changes were effected at the southward. The improvements on the northern front were carried on under the direction of General George Augustus Eliott since he was appointed to the government. The communication, or gallery leading to St. George's Hall, above Farringdon's battery; Queen's lines battery, and communication; two works of the same nature, which extend under the Queen's battery (Willis's*), and in the rock above Prince of Hesse's bastion; are so singularly contrived, and of so formidable a nature, that all *direct* attacks by land, henceforward, may be considered as quixotism and insanity.

Before the interior part of the place is described, it will not be improper to conclude the description of

* The gallery under the Queen's battery has been continued by General O'Hara, and now communicates with the Prince's lines: it is called the Union Gallery.

its outer works, by inserting an abstract of the guns, howitzers, and mortars mounted upon the different batteries. The original, from which this was copied, was taken in the beginning of March, 1783.

Nature of Ordnance	CANNON. Pounders. 32	24 & 26	18	12	9	6	4 & 3	MORTARS. Inch. 13	10	8	5½ & 4½ & 4	HOWITZERS. Inch. 10	8	5½
Serviceable Ordnance, *mounted*	77	122	104	70	16	25	38	29	1	6	34	19	9	0
Field Artillery	0	0	0	4	0	6	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Serviceable Ordnance, *dismounted*	0	27	9	0	0	0	15	0	2	7	31	0	0	0
	77	149	113	74	16	31	61	29	3	13	65	19	9	4

Total serviceable in the garrison, 663 pieces of artillery.

The town of Gibraltar is built on a bed of red sand, similar to those eminences without South Port, which originally extended from Land Port to the foot of the ascent to the south barracks. The buildings, before the town was destroyed in the late siege, were composed of different materials, principally of tapia;* though, since the English have been in possession of Gibraltar, many have been built of the rock-stone, plastered, and blue-washed on the outside, to break the powerful rays of the sun, which otherwise would be too glaring, and prejudicial to the eyes. The modern houses were in general covered with tiles; but the flat terraced roofs remained in those erected by the Spaniards, and in some, the mirandas or towers, whence the inhabitants without removing from home,

* A cement consisting of mortar made of sand, lime, and small pebbles, which being well tempered and wrought together in a frame, acquires great strength and solidity.

had a beautiful and extensive prospect of the bay and neighbouring coasts.

Of the buildings that are most deserving notice, the old Moorish castle is the most conspicuous. This antique structure is situated on the north-west side of the hill, and originally consisted of a triple wall, the outer inclosure descending to the water's edge: but the lower parts have long since been removed, and the grand battery and Water Port fortifications erected on their ruins; and the first, or upper wall, would long ago have shared the same fate, had it not been found of service in covering the town from the isthmus, in case of a siege. The walls standing at present form an oblong square, ascending the hill, at the upper angle of which is the principal tower, where the governor or alcaide formerly resided. The ruins of a Moorish mosque, or place of worship, can be traced within the walls; as also a neat morisque court, and reservoir for water: but the latter cannot, without great difficulty, be discovered by a stranger. A large tower on the south-east wall has long been converted into a magazine for powder; and in different places quarters were fitted up, before the late siege, for officers and two companies of soldiers. This castle was erected, as I have mentioned before, by the Saracens or Moors, on their first invading Spain; and the present venerable remains are incontestable proofs of its magnificence whilst it continued in their possession.

The other principal buildings are the convent, or governor's quarters; the lieutenant-governor's house, which is a modern structure; the admiralty house, formerly a monastery of white friars; the soldiers' barracks, victualling-office, and store-house. Besides these, there are the Spanish church, the atarasana, or galley-house, and some other buildings, formerly of

note, but now in ruins from the fire of the Spaniards during the late siege.*

At the southward are the South barracks and the Navy hospital. The former a stately building, delightfully situated, with a parade in front, and two pavilions detached; the whole capable of quartering 1,200 men, and officers proportionate. The latter a capacious pile, well adapted to the purpose for which it was intended: it has an area in the centre, with piazzas and a gallery above, by which the sick may enjoy the sun, or shade, as they think proper: there are apartments for 1,000 men, with pavilions at each wing for the accommodation and convenience of the surgeons and their attendants. This hospital was originally erected for the navy, in case a British fleet should be stationed in the Mediterranean; but, on the Spaniards bombarding the town in 1781, the governor removed into it the sick of the garrison. At some distance, in the front of the South barracks, are two powder magazines, in which the supplies from England are usually deposited, before they are distributed to the other magazines. These last were the chief, I might say almost the only buildings remaining on the rock after the late siege; and their preservation was owing to their being kept in constant repair by workmen purposely appointed for that duty.

Beside the remains of Moorish architecture which have already been mentioned, the following have been esteemed not unworthy of notice. Within the town we find the galley-house, and part of the Spanish church: also the bomb-house, adjoining the line-wall: and at the southward, ruins of Moorish buildings are

* Since the peace of 1783, the greatest part of the town has been rebuilt, and (which is much to be regretted) on the old foundations and plan.

discernible on Windmill Hill, and at Europa. The former are situated on an eminence, but no antiquarian can determine to what use they were appropriated: some are of opinion they were burying-vaults for persons of rank; others suppose them a prison; whilst, in the garrison, the whole is generally known by the name of the Inquisition. At Europa, opposite the guard-house, may be traced the remains of a building erected by the Moors, but used by the Spaniards as a chapel, and called Nuestra Señora del Europa. Along the water's edge, without the fortification, are also several ruins of Moorish walls; and towards Europa Advance is a Moorish bath, called by the garrison the Nuns' Well. It is sunk 8 feet deep in the rock, is 72 feet long, and 42 feet broad, and to preserve the water, has an arched roof, supported by pillars. To the left of this bath is a cave, under Windmill Hill, known by the name of Beefsteak Cave, which was a common residence for many of the inhabitants during the late siege.

The hill abounds in cavities, that serve as receptacles for the rain. None, however, is so singular and worthy of notice as St. Michael's Cave, on the side of the hill, in a line with the South barracks, about 1,100 feet above the level of the sea. At the entrance are the remains of a strong wall. The mouth is only 5 feet wide; but on descending a slope of earth, it widens considerably, and, with the assistance of torches, the openings of several smaller caves are discovered. The outer cave is about 200 feet long, and 90 broad. The top appears to be supported by pillars of vast magnitude, formed by the perpetual droppings of petrifying water, the whole bearing great resemblance to the inside of a gloomy Gothic cathedral.

The several gradations in the progress of these

petrifactions are easily discovered. In some may be observed small capitals, descending from the roof, whilst proportionable bases rise underneath : others again are formed of very small diameter ; and a third class, immensely large, seem to support the roof of this wonderful cavern. Visitors are generally conducted to view this cave ; and numbers, with the assistance of ropes and torches, have attempted to explore the depth ; however, after descending about 500 feet they have been obliged to return, by the gross vapours which issued from beneath. It was in this cave that the Spaniards concealed themselves in the siege of 1727, when a party of them, unperceived, got into the garrison, at the Cave-guard, near Europa Advance, but afterwards failed in their enterprise.

There are several other caves on different parts of the hill, in which the water possesses the same petrifying qualities. One under Middle Hill, called Pocoroca, was fitted up, previous to the bombardment, for the governor's reception ; but was afterwards converted into a powder magazine, being very convenient for the batteries on the heights.

Amongst the natural curiosities of Gibraltar, the petrified bones, found in the cavities of the rocks, have greatly attracted the attention of the curious. These bones are not found in one particular part, but have been discovered in various places at a considerable distance from each other. From the rocks near Rosia Bay (without the line-wall) great quantities of this curious petrification have been collected, and sent home for the inspection of naturalists. Some of the bones are of large diameter ; and, being broken with the rock, the marrow is easily to be distinguished. Colonel James, in his description of Gibraltar, mentions an entire human skeleton being discovered in the solid rock at the Prince's

lines; which the miner blew to pieces: and in the beginning of the late blockade, a party of miners, forming a cave at Upper All's Well, in the lines, produced several bones that were petrified to the rock, and appeared to have belonged to a large bird; being present at the time, I procured several fragments; but in the bombardment of 1781 they were destroyed with other similar curiosities.

The hill is remarkable for the number of apes about its summit, which are said not to be found in any other part of Spain. They breed in places inaccessible to man, and frequently appear in large droves with their young on their back, on the western face of the hill. It is imagined they were originally brought from Barbary by the Moors, as a similar species inhabits Mons Abyla, which, on that account, is generally called Ape's Hill. Red-legged partridges are often found in coveys; woodcocks and teal are sometimes seen, and wild rabbits are caught about Europa and Windmill Hill. The garrison orders forbid officers to shoot on the western side of the rock; parties, however, often go in boats round Europa Point to kill wild pigeons, which are numerous in the caves.

Eagles and vultures annually visit Gibraltar from Barbary, in their way to the interior parts of Spain. The former breed in the craggy parts of the rock, and, with the hawk, are often seen towering round its summit. Mosquitoes are exceedingly troublesome towards the close of summer, and locusts are sometimes found. The scorpion, centipedes, and other venomous reptiles, abound amongst the rocks and old buildings; and the harmless green lizard and snake are frequently caught by the soldiers, who, after drawing their teeth, treat them with every mark of fondness.

With regard to the climate of Gibraltar, the

inhabitants breath a temperate and wholesome air for most part of the year. The summer months of June, July, and August are excessively warm, with a perpetual serene and clear sky: the heat is, however, allayed, in a great measure, by a constant refreshing breeze from the sea, which usually sets in about ten in the forenoon, continuing till almost sunset; and, from its invigorating and agreeable coolness, is emphatically called the Doctor. The cold in winter is not so excessive as in the neighbouring parts of the country. Snow falls but seldom, and ice is a rarity; yet the Granadian mountains in Spain, and the lofty mountains in Africa, have snow lying on them for several months. Heavy rains, high winds, and most tremendous thunder, with dreadfully vivid lightning, are the attendants on December and January. The rain then pours down in torrents from the hill, and, descending with great rapidity, often chokes up the drains with large stones and rubbish, and sometimes does great injury to the works; but these storms are never of long duration: the sky soon clears up; the heavy clouds disperse; the cheering sun appears, and sufficiently compensates for the horrors of the preceding night. It is during this season that the water that serves the garrison for the ensuing summer is collected. The aqueduct, which conducts it to the fountain in the centre of the town, is extremely well executed; and was constructed by a Jesuit, when the Spaniards were in possession of Gibraltar. It is erected beneath the bank of sand, without South Port, beginning to the southward of the 8-gun bastion, and, collecting the rain-water that filters through the sand, conducts it to the South Port, and thence to the fountain. The water thus strained and purified, is remarkably clear and wholesome.

The appearance of the Rock is barren and for-

bidding, as few trees or shrubs, excepting palmettos, are to be seen on the face of the hill; yet it is not entirely destitute of vegetation; wild herbs, of different kinds, spring up in the interstices of the rocks, when the periodical rains set in, and afford some trifling nourishment to the bullocks, sheep, and goats that browse upon the hill. The first rains generally fall in September or October, and continue at intervals to refresh the garrison till April or May. When they cease, and the powerful rays of the sun have withered the little verdure that appeared on the hill, nothing offers to the eye but sharp uncouth rocks, and dried palmetto bushes. The soil collected in the low ground is, however, extremely rich and fertile, producing a variety of fruits and vegetables. Colonel James, in his elaborate history of the Herculean Straits, enumerates no less than 300 different herbs which are to be found on various parts of the Rock. Gibraltar consequently must be an excellent field of amusement to a botanist.

The garrison, before the blockade of 1779, was chiefly supplied with roots and garden-stuff from the gardens on the neutral ground, which, being on a flat, could almost constantly (even in summer) be kept in a state of vegetation. The proprietors of these gardens were obliged to relinquish them in 1779, when the Spaniards erected their advanced works: from that period General Eliott encouraged cultivation within his own limits by every possible indulgence. Many plots at the southward were enclosed with walls, the ground cleared of stones and rubbish, and soil collected from other parts, so that with assiduity and perseverance, after some time the produce during the winter season was so increased as to be almost equal to the consumption; and probably, in the space of a few years, the garrison may be totally independent,

in this article, of any assistance from the neighbourhood.

Gibraltar, being nearly surrounded by the sea, is exceedingly well supplied with fish: the John-doree, turbot, sole, salmon, hake, rock-cod, mullet, and ranger, with great variety of less note, are caught along the Spanish shore, and in different parts of the bay. Mackerel are also taken in vast numbers during the season, and shell-fish are sometimes brought from the neighbouring parts. The Moors, in time of peace, supply the garrison with ox-beef, mutton, veal, and poultry, on moderate terms; and from Spain they procure pork, which is remarkable for its sweetness and flavour. Fruits of all kinds, such as melons, oranges, green figs, grapes, pomegranates, etc., are brought in abundance from Barbary and Portugal: and the best wines are drunk at very reasonable prices.

The present military establishment of Gibraltar (1st of January, 1790) consists of six companies of artillery, nine regiments of the line, and a company of artificers, commanded by engineers; composing an army of upwards of 4,000 men, officers included. Before the late bombardment, the troops were quartered in the barracks at the southward, and in quarters fitted up out of the old Spanish buildings in town. The officers were distributed in the same manner; but in case of reinforcements, and that government quarters were not sufficient for their accommodation, billet-money was allowed in proportion to rank, and the officers hired lodgings from the inhabitants.

The regiments, on their arrival in the garrison, are entitled to salt provisions from the stores, in the following proportion:* One ration for each sergeant,

* The garrison of Gibraltar is now put on the same footing as all other British garrisons abroad, in respect to rations of provisions as well as rates of pay.

corporal, drummer, and private, consisting of 7 lbs. of bread, delivered twice a week, beef 2 lbs. 8 oz., pork 1 lb., butter 10 oz., peas half a gallon, and groats 3 pints: every commissioned and warrant officer, under a captain, receives 2 rations, a captain 3, a major and lieutenant-colonel 4, a colonel 6. In times of profound peace, officers generally receive a compensation in money for their provisions, or dispose of them to the Jews, of whom there are great numbers in the garrison, who are always ready to purchase, or take them in barter. The troops are paid in currency, which, let the exchange of the garrison be above or below par, never varies to the non-commissioned and privates. A sergeant receives weekly, as full garrison pay, 1 dollar, 6 reals, equal to 9*d.* sterling, per diem; a corporal and drummer, 1 dollar, 1 real, and 5 quartils, in sterling about 6*d.* per diem; and a private, 7 reals, or $4\frac{1}{2}$*d.* sterling per diem. Officers receive their subsistence according to the currency: 36*d.* per dollar is par. During the late bombardment, the exchange, for a considerable time, was as high as 42*d.*, by which those gentlemen who were under the necessity of drawing for their pay, lost 6*d.* in every 3*s.*: and it seldom was lower than 40*d.* whilst the siege continued. The coins current in Gibraltar are those used in Spain. All accounts are kept in dollars, reals, and quartils: the two former, like the pound sterling, are imaginary; the quartil is a copper coin.

The bay of Gibraltar, formed by the headlands of Cabrita and Europa Points, is commodious, and seems intended by nature to command the Straits: there are opportunities, however, when a fleet may pass unobserved by the garrison; for such is the impenetrable thickness of the mists, which usually prevail during the easterly winds, that many ships have baffled the vigilance of the cruisers, and gone through unnoticed;

the south-westerly winds, particularly at the equinox, are also often attended with such thick and rainy weather, that vessels have passed through and got into the bay without being seen.

Since Gibraltar has been in the possession of the English, the Spaniards have erected, in different parts of the bay, several batteries and forts for the protection of their small craft in war, and to prevent their coast from being annoyed. At Cabrita, which is a bold rocky point, are a barbet battery and watch-tower, whence, during the blockade, signals of flags by day, and lights at night, were made to inform the Spanish cruisers at Algeziras, etc., of the approach of any vessel towards the bay. These watch-towers are distributed, at short distances, along the coast for a considerable extent, to alarm the country, in case of a visit from the Algerines, or when any other extraordinary circumstance happens. To the northward of Cabrita are two others, with a fort at the northernmost tower, which is called San Garcia: the point on which the latter are erected projects, with a long reef of dangerous shoals and rocks, considerably into the bay. The town and island of Algeziras, with their batteries, then appear in view.

Algeziras lies opposite to Gibraltar, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles across the bay; and, since the late siege, has greatly increased in consequence and wealth. The town was built and fortified by the Saracens about the year 714, two years after their establishment at Gibraltar. It is remarkable for being the place where those invaders first disembarked, when they so rapidly overturned the Gothic empire in Spain; and, as well as Gibraltar, was erected to preserve a communication with Africa. Whilst the Moors maintained their conquests, it consequently became a city of great importance and strength. We find,

during the successive wars which took place between the Moors and the Spaniards, Algeziras was frequently besieged by the kings of Castile; and when Gibraltar so easily fell into the hands of the Christians in 1310, this city resisted all their efforts. At length, after a most obstinate siege in 1344, Algeziras was compelled to surrender to the victorious arms of Alonzo XI. The siege continued twenty months, and most of the potentates in Europe interested themselves in the event, by sending succours to the Christian besiegers. The English under the Duke of Lancaster, the Earls of Derby, Leicester, Salisbury, and Lincoln, particularly distinguished themselves by their gallantry and conduct during this memorable contest. It is worthy of remark, that cannon are said to have been first made use of in this siege, by the Moors against the assailants; and the English, profiting by the knowledge gained on this occasion, afterwards used them at the glorious battle of Cressy. The Spaniards continued masters of the town till 1369, when the Moors of Granada surprised the city; but being unable to retain it, they demolished the works, and carried away the inhabitants captive.

Whilst the Moors kept possession of Gibraltar, which was now in its turn become a city of importance, the Spaniards never attempted to rebuild Algeziras; and still less did they esteem it an object worthy their attention, after Gibraltar fell into their hands. The town, therefore, remained in ruins and desolate, excepting a few fishermen's huts, till the Spaniards, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, thought proper, after the final cession of Gibraltar to Great Britain, to re-people and secure it by a few batteries towards the sea, which also might occasionally protect their cruisers in time of war. Since that period, from the constant intercourse and trade which

subsisted between it and Gibraltar before the war of 1779, Algeziras is become a town of some consequence and wealth; and, as a writer has justly expressed, "like a phœnix, has risen out of its own ashes, after being for ages in ruins."

The New Town is built to the northward of the old city (whose venerable ruins still remain), and is defended to the southward by a battery of 9 or 10 guns, erected on an island some distance from the shore. To the northward of the town is another battery of 6 guns, and a little farther, on an eminence, one of 22, which was raised by Admiral Barcelo, when he was apprehensive of an attack from Sir George Rodney in 1780. Between the island and the town, small craft find tolerable shelter; but ships of war, or of large burthen, anchor to the northward. The lands round the town are much cultivated, and, with the shipping, form, in the spring, a pleasantly variegated and beautiful prospect to a spectator at Gibraltar. A detachment or regiment of infantry is constantly on duty here, who, with those of the Spanish lines and neighbourhood, are under the orders of the commandant at St. Roque.

To the northward of Algeziras are the rivers Palmones and Guadaranque: the former is the broader and deeper of the two, and was the principal retreat of the Spanish gun and mortar boats, when they wanted repairs, after bombarding the garrison. Admiral Barcelo in this river also prepared the fire-ships he sent over in June, 1780. On the east banks of the Guadaranque, near Rocadillo Point, where there is a small fort or tower, are the venerable ruins of the once famous city of Carteia. This celebrated place, scarcely a stone of which is now left to inform posterity where it stood, is reported to have been built by the Phœnicians, in the first ages of navigation,

when those adventurers visited the extreme parts of the then known world. Historians mention it under the names of Carteia, Heraclia, and Calpe Carteia. When the Carthaginians became a powerful nation, and aimed at the sovereignty of Spain, Carteia maintained its independence for some time, till Hannibal, according to Livy, stormed the city, and demolished most of its works. When Scipio obliged the Carthaginians to quit Spain, Carteia was a place of little importance; but the Romans finding it a convenient station for their navy, the city was increased with a Roman colony, and once more began to rise into splendour and magnificence. After the memorable battle of Munda, Cneius Pompey fled to Carteia, but, being pursued, was obliged to leave it precipitately. As the Roman empire declined, so did Carteia; and probably, soon after the irruption of the Goths and Vandals, it became almost desolate and waste. On the invasion of Spain by the Saracens that nation undoubtedly dismantled the buildings of this famous city for materials to erect Gibraltar and Algeziras. The remains of a quay are still visible, with some few ruins of public buildings, apparently Roman; and the country peasants, in tilling the ground, often find various antique coins, which curious antiquarians have not thought unworthy of a place in their cabinets.

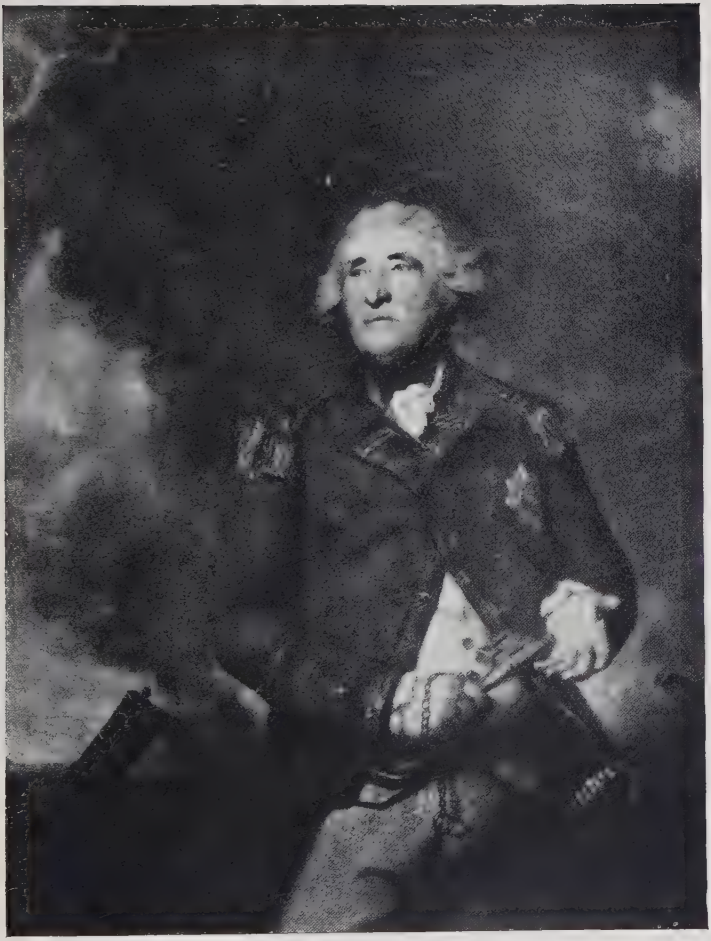
Half-way between the Guadaranque and the garrison is another fort and tower, called Point Mala, or Negro Point, to the northward of which is the inland village of St. Roque. This is a small, insignificant town, though delightfully situated, at about five miles' distance from Gibraltar. It was built by the Spaniards, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the garrison of Gibraltar surrendered to Sir George Rooke. The Spanish commandant of the

lines generally makes it his residence; and during the siege under the Duke de Crillon, the Count d'Artois and the Duke de Bourbon had apartments in the town. Previous to the war of 1779 it was often frequented by the officers from Gibraltar; and in the spring and summer seasons British families resided there for several months, some for the benefit of their health, others for pleasure. The combined army, during the late siege, encamped on the plains below St. Roque, and landed all their ordnance and military stores a little to the westward of Point Mala, near the Orange Grove.

I cannot help remarking in this place, that, among the evils of the late siege, the garrison have to regret the interruption of that friendly intercourse which before subsisted between them and the neighbourhood, and which is now prohibited by the Spanish government. When the communication was free and unlimited (except in point of introducing a contraband traffic in Spain), the most friendly intimacy subsisted between the British military and the Spaniards resident in the adjacent villages. Parties were reciprocally visiting each other, and the officers constantly making excursions into the country. These excursions, with others to the coast of Barbary (which in the season superabounds with various species of game), were pleasing relaxations from the duties of the garrison, and rendered Gibraltar as eligible a station as any to which a soldier could be ordered.

On the whole, whether we consider Gibraltar as commanding the entrance of the Mediterranean, and consequently as capable of controlling the commerce of the Europeans with the Levant; or whether we consider it as almost impregnable by nature, and consequently as most susceptible of the improvements of art, its situation is, perhaps, more singular and

curious than that of any fortress in the world. These circumstances, and the degree of consequence which it confers on its possessor, in the opinion of the Barbary states, have not failed to excite the attention and alarm the interests of most maritime nations in Europe; and, with the multitude at least, it has always been an object of political importance. Politicians, however, there have been, of no inferior rank, who have thought very differently of its value and utility. On this delicate subject I will frankly confess my inability to decide. I shall, therefore, without further apology, leave these speculations to men of more leisure and experience, and proceed to matters better adapted to my capacity and information.



GENERAL ELIOTT (AFTERWARDS LORD HEATHFIELD).

From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A., in the National Gallery.

[*To face p.* 48.

CHAPTER III

Although the Spaniards had been thrice defeated in their attempts to recover Gibraltar, they continued to view that garrison with a jealous eye, determined, if we may judge from their late conduct, to seize the first eligible opportunity of wresting it, if possible, from the dominion of Great Britain.

The war of 1762 was too unexpected on the part of Spain, and conducted with too great success by the British minister, to admit of such an enterprise as the siege of Gibraltar. The period was not, however, far distant when the contest between Great Britain and her colonies seemed to promise as favourable an opportunity as their warmest wishes could have anticipated; particularly when, in addition to the civil war, they found hostilities taking place between Great Britain and France. The close of the year 1777, when the news of the convention of Saratoga first arrived in Europe, was the period which they embraced to introduce themselves into the dispute. Hostilities had then been carried on for near six months between Great Britain and France: Spain therefore judged the opportunity favourable to offer her mediation, proposing such an arrangement as she must be assured would not be agreeable to the principal belligerent powers. Great Britain had no sooner refused her acquiescence than the court of Madrid espoused the part of France; and, on the

16th of June, 1779, the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis d'Almodovar, presented to the court of London his hostile manifesto.

The principal design of the court of Madrid, in entering into this war, was evidently the recovery of Gibraltar. Before any reply was given by the British ministry to their proposals for a pacification, overtures had been privately made to the Emperor of Morocco to farm the ports of Tetuan, Tangier, and Larache, by which means Gibraltar might be cut off from its principal supplies. This conduct seemed to argue a confidence that her terms in the mediation would be refused; and the considerable depôts of military stores which were collected in her arsenals undoubtedly pointed out that the siege of that garrison was her first and immediate object. On the 21st of June, 1779, the communication between Spain and Gibraltar was closed, by an order from Madrid.

Two days previous to this event General Eliott, the governor, accompanied by many field-officers of the garrison, paid a visit to General Mendoza, the commandant of the Spanish lines, to congratulate him on his promotion. Their reception at St. Roque was far from agreeable; and it was remarked that the Spanish general appeared embarrassed during their stay, which might proceed from his knowledge of what was to follow. The visit was short, and the governor had scarcely returned to the garrison when Mr. Logie, his majesty's consul in Barbary, arrived from Tangier, in a Swedish frigate, with certain intelligence of the intended rupture between Great Britain and Spain. Mr. Logie's information proceeded from a Swedish brig, which on her passage to Tangier had fallen in with the French fleet, of about 28 sail of the line, off Cape Finisterre. The master of the brig being ordered on board the

French flagship by the Admiral, M. d'Orvilliers, had learned that they had been cruising for some time in that latitude, expecting the junction of the Spanish fleet from Cadiz. From the amicable assurances held out by the Spaniards, we could not persuade ourselves in the garrison that a rupture was so near; but the mail from the garrison being refused on the 21st of June, and being acquainted at the same time that the intercourse between Gibraltar and the neighbourhood was no longer to be permitted, we had sufficient confirmation of Mr. Logie's intelligence. We afterwards learned that the courier who brought from Madrid the order to shut up the communication, had been detained by accidents on the road; otherwise it was not impossible that he might have arrived during General Eliott's visit at St. Roque.

As the fortress of Gibraltar after this event became a little world of itself, it may not be unacceptable to commence the history of the siege with a state of the troops in garrison at that period, and the commanding officers of different corps.

General G. A. Eliott, Governor.
Lieutenant-General R. Boyd, Lieutenant-Governor.
Major-General de la Motte, commanding the Hanoverian Brigade.

	Off.	Staff.	S.	D.	Rank and File.	
Artillery	25	0	17	15	428	Col. Godwin, Commander of Artillery.
12th Regiment	26	3	29	22	519	Lieut.-Col. Trigge.
39th ,,	25	4	29	22	506	Major Kellet.
56th ,,	23	4	30	22	508	Major Fancourt.
58th ,,	25	3	29	22	526	Lieut.-Col. Cochrane.
72nd, or R. M. V.	29	4	47	22	944	Lieut.-Col. Gledstanes.
Hanoverians: Hardenberg's	16	13	42	14	367	Lieut.-Col. Hugo.
Hanoverians: Reden's	15	12	42	14	361	Lieut. Col. Dachenhausen.
Hanoverians: De la Motte's	17	16	42	14	367	Lieut.-Col. Sclippergill.
Engineers, with a Company of Artificers	8	0	6	2	106	Col. Green, Chief Engineer.
Total	209	59	313	169	4,632	—making an army of 5,382 men.

On the communication being closed, a council of war

was immediately summoned, to advise concerning the measures to be pursued on the occasion. Preparations had been privately made for the defence of the garrison when intelligence was first received of the probability of a war. The objects, therefore, at this time to be considered were, how to procure constant supplies of provisions from Barbary, and in what manner the correspondence between England and Gibraltar was to be conducted. Mr. Logie's presence in Barbary was very essential to both these points: he consequently returned to Tangier on the 22nd, having concerted with the governor proper signals, by which he might communicate intelligence across the Straits. Admiral Duff also, on the 22nd, removed the men-of-war under his command from their usual anchorage, off Water Port (where they were liable to be annoyed by the enemy's forts), to the southward, off the New Mole. His force at that time consisted of the *Panther*, of 60 guns, Captain Harvey, on board of which was the flag; 3 frigates, two of which were on a cruise; and a sloop of war.

It is natural to suppose that the garrison were not a little alarmed at this unexpected procedure of the Spaniards. The northern guards were reinforced and the pickets cautioned to be alert, in case of alarm. Land Port barriers were shut, and an artillery officer ordered to Willis's batteries, to observe the movements of the *enemy*, and protect the Devil's Tower guard, which was ordered to be very circumspect and vigilant.

Whilst the friendly intercourse subsisted between the garrison and the neighbourhood, several British families and officers had permission to reside at St. Roque, Los Varios, and other small villages a few miles distant; but immediately on the communication being closed, General Mendoza sent them peremptory

orders to remove; and the time limited for their departure was so short, that some of them were obliged to leave most of their effects behind. Those officers whose curiosity had led them into the interior parts of the country were positively refused liberty to return to the garrison; they were therefore conducted to Cadiz, and had passports granted them to leave the kingdom by other routes. Colonel Ross and Captain Vignoles of the 39th, with Captain Lefanne of the 56th, nevertheless contrived to join their corps, by assuming disguises, and risking the passage in a row-boat from Faro (a port in Portugal) to Gibraltar; others also attempted, but unfortunately were intercepted in their voyage.

The *Childers* sloop of war, on the 24th, brought in two prizes from the west, one of which (an American) Captain Peacock captured in the midst of the Spanish fleet, then at sea. The conduct of the Spaniards on this occasion was extremely ambiguous. Every circumstance that fell under our own immediate observation convinced us that they now intended hostilities against Great Britain; and from Mr. Logie's intelligence we had every cause to think that this fleet was out to join the French admiral. Their permitting our cruisers, therefore, to capture a friend (as they might then call the Americans), under the protection of their fleet, we must either consider as a finesse, or suppose that they had not received orders to act offensively. The *Childers* left two of our frigates watching the motions of the Spanish fleet. It was somewhat singular that a Mr. Suasé (an American major, who had been prisoner in the garrison a little time before, along with others of his countrymen, but had made his escape) and two deserters from Gibraltar should be recognised through their disguises, on board the American prize. The major was

remanded to his old confinement in the Navy Hospital, and the latter were punished according to their deserts.

Though the motions of the enemy did not indicate any immediate design of attacking the garrison, and the closing of the communication might be only in consequence of hostilities having commenced between Great Britain and Spain, yet our intelligence, and their late deceitful conduct, gave us great reason to suppose that they intended some attempt on Gibraltar. Depôts of earth, etc., were therefore collected in various places; empty hogsheads and casks were bought from the inhabitants, for the purpose of filling them with earth, to strengthen and repair the fortifications; and other precautions were taken for the defence of the place. On the other hand, the enemy employed what troops they had then on duty, in the lines and neighbourhood, in drawing down cannon from St. Roque, etc., to *animate* the forts (in which few ordnance were mounted during the peace), and in arranging matters to strengthen and support their posts.

In the beginning of July, the *Enterprise* frigate, Sir Thomas Rich, Bart., returned with a fleet of small craft, laden with live-stock and fruit, from Tangier; in consequence of which, fourteen days' fresh provisions were issued to the troops. The engineers continued preparing materials in their departments, towards completing the works of the garrison; for which purpose strong parties from the line were granted them daily, under the command of overseers. About 300 Jews and Genoese were also employed in levelling heaps of sand, near the gardens, on the neutral ground, in order that, if the enemy should approach, they might not receive any protection and cover from our lower batteries. The pickets of the

garrison were ready, on the grand parade, to support these parties in case they had been molested; but though they were at work within half musket-shot of the enemy's advanced guards in the Micquelet huts, yet not the least attempt was made to disturb them.

On the 3rd of July a detachment of about 180 men from the British line was ordered to join the artillery, to be taught the practice of the great guns. The artillery in garrison were only five companies; a number not adequate to the different duties in case of a siege: this reinforcement was therefore added, and proved afterwards of great service in that department. Three English sailors came in an open boat, on the 4th, from Cadiz, and brought intelligence that an embargo was laid on all English vessels in that port. In the evening we observed the Spaniards relieve the guards in their lines.

The Spaniards, in time of peace, always stationed a regiment of cavalry at St. Roque, with another regiment or detachment of infantry at Algeziras; parties from which did duty at their lines; and no additional body of troops, or ships of war, had yet appeared near the garrison. On the 5th, however, in the afternoon, a Spanish squadron of two seventy-fours, five frigates, and other vessels, to the number of eleven, hove in sight from the west, and lay-to some time off the garrison. Whilst they remained in this situation, the governor thought it prudent to make some new disposition of the ordnance at the southward, and to caution the regiments in the South barracks, the 12th and 72nd, to be alert. The captain of Europa guard, who, before, usually joined at retreat-beating, was also ordered to his command. In the afternoon three privateer cutters arrived from the westward. A schooner, under Portuguese colours,

stood across from the enemy to reconnoitre the first that came in, and on her return was fired upon from Europa batteries, which was the first hostile shot from the garrison. The enemy's squadron, in the evening, drove to the eastward; and at night the *Enterprise* frigate arrived from Tetuan with Mr. Logie, the consul. In the interval of this gentleman's departure from the garrison, a ship of the emperor's had arrived at Gibraltar to be repaired; but Admiral Duff being backward in granting the stores, the governor thought proper to send for Mr. Logie to explain to the admiral the necessity there was of complying with the emperor's request. To refuse such trifling assistance at that important time, he considered might be productive of serious consequences to the garrison. The *Enterprise* frigate accordingly sailed to Tetuan to bring over the consul. About sunset, the evening of the 5th, the frigate left Tetuan to return, and was discovered by the enemy's squadron, part of which immediately gave chase. Sir Thomas Rich, however, from his superior knowledge of the tides, escaped, though the wind was contrary. When he arrived within view of the garrison, not making the concerted night-signals for fear of being discovered by the pursuers, the officer at Europa saluted him with several shot, but fortunately they did not take effect.

The following day, the 6th of July, a packet was received from England, by way of Lisbon and Faro, informing the governor that hostilities had commenced between Great Britain and Spain. A proclamation in consequence was published in the evening for capturing all Spanish vessels, etc., and letters of marque were granted for that purpose to the privateers in the bay. Early on the morning of the 8th, a soldier of Reden's deserted from the Devil's Tower

guard, and some time afterwards was followed by a serjeant of the 39th, who was one of the overseers attending the inhabitants employed beyond the gardens. In the evening General Mendoza, with several officers, advanced from the lines as far as the Micquelet huts, and, after reconnoitring about an hour, returned.

The Spanish commodore continued cruising in our neighbourhood till the 8th, when he stood under an easy sail for the westward. Before they quitted the Mediterranean they brought-to a Portuguese schooner, bound from Tetuan to the garrison, and made very earnest inquiries concerning the state of our provisions. The 9th, the American prisoners, detained at this time in the garrison, were distributed amongst the privateers; and the following day, in company with the *Childers* sloop of war, they brought in four small prizes.

Admiral Duff having received intelligence that a large fleet of small vessels was to sail from Malaga with wine and provisions for the Spanish grand fleet, the *Childers* was ordered, on the 11th, to cruise to the eastward, and give information, by signal, when they appeared, with the strength of their convoy. Whilst she was on the lookout, her boat gave chase to a settee, and was fired at from Fort St. Barbara, which was the first hostile shot from the enemy. About 11 o'clock the signals were made of the expected Spanish convoy being in sight, and soon after, of their force. Our admiral, however, only cautioned the navy to be ready, and went to Windmill Hill to reconnoitre them personally. About four in the afternoon the convoy, consisting of about 60 sail of different burthens, under charge of five xebeques, from 20 to 30 guns each, were abreast of Europa Point. The privateers which had accompanied the *Childers* in

the morning, were then towing in a prize taken from the midst of their fleet; and they, as well as the *Childers*, kept up a smart running fire on the Spanish commodore; which was seconded at the same time from the garrison batteries at the Europa Point and Europa Advance. The *Panther* (the admiral's ship, with the flag on board) and the *Enterprise* were still at anchor; but at sunset Sir Thomas Rich had permission to slip, and the *Panther* soon after got under way. On the appearance of the frigate the enemy were confused, and instantly steered for Ceuta. The *Childers* and privateers pursued, followed by the frigate, and soon after by the *Panther*. Night was now advancing apace, and in a short time we lost sight of the ships. A few broadsides now and then gave us hopes that our friends had come up with them; and we could not help flattering ourselves, from the inferior force of the convoy, that daylight would exhibit the majority of them in our possession. In the morning, however, we discovered the admiral standing towards the bay with five or six small prizes, and not one other of the enemy in sight: whence we concluded that they had worked back to their own coast, or escaped through the Straits in the night whilst our ships were off Ceuta. We afterwards learned that the squadron which appeared on the 5th was sent to convoy this valuable fleet past Gibraltar, lest the British admiral should intercept them, and prevent their grand fleet from receiving these much wanted supplies; but the convoy being by some unforeseen delays detained, the Spanish commodore quitted the station on the 8th.

Two line-of-battle ships were observed cruising behind the rock on the 13th, and at night they went into Ceuta. The 16th the enemy blocked up the port with a squadron of men-of-war, consisting of

2 seventy-fours, 2 frigates, 5 xebeques, and a number of galleys, half-galleys, and armed settees: they anchored in the bay, off Algeziras, and being judiciously arranged, and keeping a vigilant lookout, the garrison became closely blockaded. This was the first motion of the enemy that discovered any direct intentions of distressing or attacking Gibraltar. At night Water Port guard was reinforced with a captain and ten privates. Till the 18th of this month nothing material occurred, when a small convoy of settees, etc., arrived at the Orange Grove, laden with military stores, which the enemy began soon afterwards to disembark.

Mr. Logie having prevailed on the admiral to grant the stores necessary for repairing the emperor's ship, and his presence in Barbary being absolutely necessary, as well to procure provisions as to conduct the correspondence between Great Britain and the garrison, he returned on the 19th, on board a Moorish row-galley, which had arrived from the emperor with dispatches relative to the ship under repair. The galley was interrupted in her return by the enemy's cruisers, and detained from seven in the morning till five in the afternoon, when she was permitted to proceed to Tangier. During the embargo Mr. Logie was concealed in a small scuttle, down the run of the galley, having previously made up the governor's dispatches, and concerted signals, in a loaf, which was entrusted to a Moor, to be delivered at Mr. Logie's house in Tangier, in case he himself should be discovered, with an order for the Moor to receive a gratuity if he delivered it safe.

Early in the morning of the 20th a Portuguese boat arrived with fowls and charcoal from Tangier. Another, attempting to come in, was taken by a half-galley, and carried to Algeziras. Sixty pounds of fresh beef were delivered the same day to each

regiment for the use of the officers; the artillery and engineers received in proportion, and the navy were included in this distribution. The following day orders were issued for the troops to mount guard with their hair unpowdered; a circumstance trifling in appearance, but which our situation afterwards proved to be of great importance, and which evinced our governor's great attention and prudent foresight in the management of the stores.

So superior a naval force as the enemy now had in our neighbourhood alarmed Admiral Duff, who was apprehensive that they would make some attempts on the king's ships. Signals were therefore agreed upon between the fleet and the garrison, that in case the enemy should make an attack in the night, the latter might afford the ships every assistance and protection. Three lights in a triangle were fixed upon by the navy, to distinguish them from the enemy. The 22nd the navy manned their boats, and captured a settee, within a short distance of the enemy's xebeques: she proved of little value, but the exploit reflected great credit on the party employed. The same day arrived a boat with cattle, etc., from Tangier. In the course of the 22nd several officers, attended by a party of men, were observed tracing out ground on the plain below St. Roque, apparently for a camp; and it was remarked that the Micquelets in the advanced huts on the neutral ground were relieved by regular troops. These Micquelets are of the same description with our revenue officers, and were stationed to prevent the smuggling of tobacco from the garrison into Spain.

A Portuguese boat, with letters, arrived early in the morning of the 24th; also a schooner with charcoal and fruit from Tangier. Between 200 and 300 men landed the same day at the Orange Grove, with an intention, as we conjectured, of taking charge of

the stores which the enemy were disembarking there. The 25th they pitched a tent on the plain for the working party employed in clearing the ground. I should have mentioned, that on the 12th a Hanoverian soldier deserted, and this day two of the same brigade followed his example. The enemy, on the 26th, began to form a camp on the plain below St. Roque, about half a mile from Point Mala, and three miles from the garrison. Fifty tents were pitched, and a detachment of cavalry and infantry soon after took possession. The same day the *Illerim*, a Swedish frigate, which had been in the bay some weeks before, arrived, though opposed by the enemy. The Swedish captain politely brought-to on their firing a gun; but being told he must not anchor under the walls of the garrison, he resumed his course, telling them he must go to Gibraltar, and they should not prevent him. Some shots were exchanged, but none took effect.

The Spanish camp being daily reinforced with additional regiments of cavalry and infantry, and large parties being still employed in landing ordnance and military stores at Point Mala, the governor thought proper, on the 29th, to establish the following staff officers, namely, Captains Vallotton, of the 56th regiment—Patterson, of the artillery—Forch, of the 12th regiment, and Eveleigh, of the engineers, to be aides-de-camp to himself, as commander-in-chief; Captain Wilson and Lieutenant Buckeridge, of the 39th regiment, aides-de-camp to Lieutenant-General Boyd; Lieutenant Weinzey, of the Hanoverian Brigade, aide-de-camp to Major-General de la Motte; Major Hardy, of the 56th regiment, quartermaster-general; Captain Horsburgh, of the 39th regiment, who was town-major, adjutant-general; Captain Burke, of the 58th regiment, town-major; and Lieutenant S. Wood, of the 56th regiment, assistant town-major. At the

same time all the horses, except those belonging to field and staff-officers, were ordered to be turned out of the garrison, unless the owners, on inspection, had 1,000 lbs. of feed for each horse; and, to enforce the latter order by example, the governor directed that one of his own horses should be shot.

In the afternoon of the 30th, one of the enemy's xebeques manned her yards, and fired a salute. Immediately afterwards we observed she had hoisted a flag at the mizen top-mast head, instead of a broad pendant; from which ceremony we concluded that the naval commandant had been promoted, or that he was superseded by an admiral.

In the beginning of August, the corps in garrison were ordered to give in returns of their best marksmen, and also of those men who had ever been employed in making fascines. Those officers unmarried, or without families, who drew double rations for two commissions, were ordered at the same time to draw rations only for one commission. Two Dutchmen came in on the 2nd, unperceived by the enemy's cruisers, laden with rice and dried fruits: the rice, and a part of the fruit, the governor purchased, for the use of the troops. The enemy's camp by this time was considerably increased, and we numbered 26 cannon behind the fort at Point Mala.

A Venetian arrived on the 5th, though fired at by the enemy. She (with the Dutchmen) remained no longer than was necessary to take on board some of the inhabitants, who, apprehensive that the garrison would be besieged, thought it eligible to seek an asylum in time. Indeed, about this time scarcely a boat or vessel left the port without being crowded with Jews or Genoese, who preferred a residence in Barbary, or Portugal, to remaining in Gibraltar, where the necessaries of life became every day more

scarce. Early on the 6th came in a Portuguese schooner, from Tangier, with 44 bullocks, 27 sheep, and a few fowls; and two days following, another arrived with onions, fruit, and eggs; the latter brought letters for the governor, but no news from England. From this day nothing material occurred till the 10th, when the enemy's cruisers captured a boat belonging to the garrison.

As affairs began to wear a more serious aspect, a general activity reigned throughout the garrison, promoted not a little by the example of the governor, who was usually present when the workmen paraded at dawn of day. The engineers were busily employed in putting the works at Willis's in the best repair, and in erecting new batteries on the heights of the north front. A considerable extent of ground above the town was cleared and levelled, to encamp the different regiments, in case the enemy should fire upon the town. Parties were likewise detached to collect shrubs, etc., from the face of the hill, for fascines; and the artillery were daily engaged in completing the expense magazines with powder, ranging the different ordnance, and preparing everything for immediate use in their department. The navy were not less diligent. A new battery for 22 guns was begun in the Navy Yard, as a resource in case the enemy's operations should make it necessary to lay up the ships; and the stores were removed from the New Mole to the Navy Hospital.

Towards the middle of August, the motions of the enemy were no longer mysterious; every succeeding day confirmed us in the opinion that their object was to distress the garrison as much as possible. The blockade became more strict and severe, their army was in force before the place, and their present plan seemed to be to reduce Gibraltar by famine. Our

stock of provisions, they concluded, was small, and their squadron under Admiral Barcelo, who commanded in the bay, could prevent succours being thrown in by neutral vessels; whilst their grand fleet, united with that of France, would be superior to any which Great Britain could equip, in her then critical situation. This scheme, every circumstance considered, was specious; and, had not the garrison fortunately received a supply of provisions, etc., in April, 1779, the troops undoubtedly would have been reduced to the greatest distress, and the place might probably have been in imminent danger, before the ministry could dispatch a fleet to its relief. The situation of the garrison was becoming every day more interesting: only forty head of cattle were now in the place; and from the vigilance of the enemy, there was little prospect of constant supplies from Barbary: two bullocks were ordered, therefore, to be killed daily for the use of the sick. The inhabitants had been warned in time to provide against the calamities which now impended: the standing orders of the garrison specified, that every inhabitant, even in time of peace, should have in store six months' provisions; yet by far the greater number had neglected this precaution. These unfortunate people, as they could not expect to be supplied from the garrison stores, were in general compelled to seek subsistence by quitting the place; some, however, were induced to weather out the storm by the property they had in the garrison, which was probably their all, and which they could not remove with themselves. Those of this description, on application, obtained leave to erect wooden huts and sheds at the southward, above the Navy Hospital, whither they began to remove their valuable effects, etc., that they might be secure from the annoyance of the enemy, in case the town should be bombarded.

Fifteen or sixteen covered carts, on the 15th, arrived at the enemy's camp, and unloaded timber, planks, etc., at their laboratory tents. They continued landing stores on the beach, which employed a great number of carts to convey them to their depôts; and at night we generally observed a number of lights, and frequently heard a noise like that of men employed on some laborious duty: this might proceed from dragging cannon, as we observed, on the 17th, they had *animated* all the embrasures in Fort St. Philip.

Early on the 17th, the enemy attempted to cut out a polacre, which was anchored off the Old Mole; but retired on a gun being fired at them from the garrison. The small craft, after this circumstance, removed to the New Mole, as the men-of-war had done some time before. The 18th, in the morning, two parties of workmen came from the camp, and were employed at Forts St. Philip and St. Barbara: covered carts continued constantly going from Point Mala to the laboratory tents, supposed to be laden with shot. The following morning a Spaniard came in an open boat to Water Port, with onions and fruit, having a pass for Ceuta: he was examined by the quartermaster-general, and allowed to sell his cargo and purchase tobacco, but was not permitted to land: at night he was ordered to return, which he did about 8 o'clock. He informed us the camp consisted of between 5,000 and 6,000 men, which were to be immediately completed to 15,000. The 20th, the enemy formed a new camp, to the left of the stone quarry, under the Queen of Spain's Chair: we imagined it to be intended for the Catalonian troops, as they are usually encamped separate from the rest of the Spanish forces. The same day our marksmen were embodied into a company of two non-commisioned officers and 64 men;

and the command was given to Lieutenant Burleigh, of the 39th regiment.

The enemy, on the 21st, had more men than usual employed in making fascines: they likewise were very busy in piling shot, and had a party at work in the covered way of Fort St. Philip. A number of carts daily brought shot (as we imagined) to the lines, particularly to Fort St. Barbara. The 23rd, the corps of engineers were formed into three divisions, and several officers of the line appointed to join them as assistant engineers and overseers. The same day some experiments were made with *red-hot shot*: this practice was continued on the 25th, when some carcasses were also thrown, and much approved. The 27th, we observed a fascine-work begun upon the glacis, north of Fort St. Philip, which afterwards proved to be a mortar battery. A great number of carts continued to be employed in the enemy's camp, and vast quantities of stores were constantly landing beyond Point Mala. In the course of the 30th, the *Childers* and an armed schooner attempted to cut off two half-galleys becalmed in the bay; but the enemy's xebeques, getting under way, obliged them to desist. At night upwards of 80 covered carts came down to the enemy's lines.

From the time the enemy first appeared encamped before the garrison, troops had been continually joining them from all quarters. Their camp consisted of two lines (independent of the Catalonians), extending from Point Mala, in an oblique direction, into the country, towards the Queen of Spain's Chair. The streets were in a direction nearly parallel to the bottom of the bay. The guards in their lines and advanced posts were, as the camp increased, proportionably reinforced; but no act of hostility had yet taken place in that quarter, though the governor continued the garrison-guard at the Devil's Tower. Their forts

were repaired and put in the best order of defence. Laboratory tents for the artillery were pitched in front of their camp, and magazines erected for military stores, which were frequently brought by fleets of small craft, convoyed by men-of-war from Cadiz, Malaga, and other ports in the neighbourhood.

On the 5th of September a soldier of Hardenberg's deserted from a working party employed in scarping the rock, under the lines. He was fired upon from Willis's, but got off. Besides the party engaged in rendering the lines inaccessible, our engineers were daily strengthening them with palisades, etc. Traverses were also erected along the covered way, grand battery, and line-wall above Water Port, where a strong boom of masts was laid, from Old Mole head to the foot of Land Port glacis. About this time the regiments began to practise grenade exercise. The day on which the Hanoverian deserted, a Moorish galley came over from Algeziras, where she had been detained ten days. The crew reported that the Spanish camp was very sickly. It is supposed this vessel came to order home the ship which had been some time repairing in the New Mole, as the following day both of them left the garrison for Tangier: a xebeque, however, speaking them off Cabrita Point, the Moors were conducted to the Spanish admiral.

The enemy's workmen in the lines appeared at this time to be about 500. They were principally engaged in filling up with sand the north part of the ditch of Fort St. Philip, completing the mortar battery before mentioned, and raising the crest of the glacis or their lines in different places. From the noise often heard during the night, and the number of lights seen, we judged that they worked without intermission. Two waggons, drawn each by 12 mules or horses, arrived at the lines on the 8th, which we conjectured brought

fixed ammunition. The 11th, we observed that they had begun several fascine-works on the crest of their lines, apparently for mortar batteries; and had raised several traverses for the protection of their guard-houses. Waggons and carts continued bringing fascines and other materials to the lines from the camp. The same day, a row boat, fitted out by the Jews, brought in a Dutch dogger laden with wheat: a very valuable supply in our situation.

The operations of the enemy now began to engage our attention. They had been permitted to pass and repass unmolested for some time; but the governor did not think it prudent to allow them to proceed any longer with impunity. A council of war was consequently summoned on the 11th, to confer on the measures to be pursued. The council consisted of the following officers:—The governor, the lieutenant-governor, Vice-admiral Duff, Major-general de la Motte; Colonels Ross, Green, and Godwin; with Sir Thomas Rich, Bart. In the evening it was reported that their opinion was not to open on the enemy whilst they continued within their lines: but this rumour was only propagated to deceive the garrison; for on the succeeding morning, being Sunday the 12th of September, the artillery officers were ordered to the batteries on the heights; and the Devil's Tower guard being withdrawn, the governor opened on the enemy from Green's Lodge (a battery made since the blockade commenced), Willis's and Queen Charlotte's batteries. Their advanced guards in the Micquelet huts, and in the stone guard-houses, were in a short time compelled to retire, and the workmen assembled in the lines obliged to disperse. The covered waggons returned to the camp without depositing their ladings; and so general a panic seized the enemy at this unexpected attack, that their cavalry galloped off towards

the camp, and for some hours scarce a person was to be seen within the range of our guns. The forts were too distant to be materially damaged; and the governor's intention being only to disturb their workmen, the firing after a few hours slackened, and a shot was only discharged as the enemy presented themselves. A brass gun in the Queen's battery (Willis's) run * with eight rounds.

The mortar batteries that had been discovered in the enemy's lines, some few days previous to our firing, had caused no small alarm amongst the inhabitants; those, therefore, who had huts in Hardy Town, at the southward, immediately removed their most valuable effects, fully convinced that the Spaniards at night would return the fire.

That the duty of the batteries might be performed with spirit, in case the enemy persisted in carrying on their works, a captain, 3 subalterns, and 52 men of the artillery, were ordered to take in charge Green's Lodge, Willis's and other batteries on the heights. The firing was continued the subsequent days, as circumstances directed. The 16th, our artillery made three attempts to reach the enemy's laboratory tents, or artillery park (as henceforward they will be called), from a sea-mortar at Willis's. The first and second shell burst immediately on leaving the mortar; the third went its range, but fell a little short of the fascine park. The artillery at this period used the old shells, the fuses of which were in general faulty; and this was the cause that the experiment did not answer on the first and second trials. We observed, the same day, that the Spaniards had pitched some additional tents a little beyond Point Mala: they also began to erect a pier, or wharf, for the convenience of landing their stores and supplies.

* i.e. melted.

Whilst the governor kept a watchful eye on the enemy's operations, molesting their workmen as much as possible from Willis's, proper precautions were taken in the town to render a bombardment less distressing, in case they retaliated, which, indeed, their preparations gave us reason to think would not be long deferred. The pavement of the streets, in the north part of the town, was ploughed up; the towers of the most conspicuous buildings were taken down, and traverses raised in different places, to render the communications more secure. The enemy appeared to bear our fire very patiently in their lines; their parties continued working on the mortar batteries; the stone sentry-boxes were pulled down, and the guard-houses unroofed; a boyau, or covered way, was likewise begun, to make a safe communication from the lines to their camp.

Our firing was still continued; but their parties were at too considerable a distance (being near a mile) to be materially annoyed by our shot; and the works being surrounded with sand, the large shells sunk so deep that the splinters seldom rose to the surface. An experiment was therefore recommended by Captain (now Major) Mercier, of the 39th regiment, namely, to fire out of guns 5½-inch shells, with short fuses; which were tried on the 25th, and found to answer extremely well. These small shells, according to Captain Mercier's method, were thrown with such precision, and the fuses cut by calculation with such exactness, that the shell often burst over the heads of the enemy and wounded them before they could get under cover. This mode* of annoyance was eligible on several other accounts; less powder was used, and the enemy were more seriously molested; the former was

* The enemy, we were informed, attempted this practice, but never could bring it to perfection.

an advantage of no small consequence, since it enabled the governor to reserve, at this period, what might be probably expended to the greater benefit of the service on a future occasion. It will also account for the extraordinary number of shells which were discharged from the garrison.

In the afternoon of the 26th a soldier of the 72nd regiment deserted from a working party out at Land Port. He took refuge behind one of the Micquelet huts, and, notwithstanding our endeavours to dislodge him, remainded there till night, when it is imagined he proceeded to the lines. Our firing was now very trifling. The enemy continued making additions to their boyau and the works in the lines; but the latter were chiefly done in the night. Indeed, since our firing, their operations within our reach had been principally carried on during the night, at which time, or very late in the evening, they also relieved their guards.

In the beginning of October the enemy's army, according to our intelligence, consisted of 16 battalions of infantry and 12 squadrons of horse, which, if the regiments were complete, would amount to about 14,000 men. Lieutenant-General Don Martin Alvarez de Sota Mayor was commander-in-chief. We continued our fire, varying as objects presented themselves.

The great command we had over the enemy's operations from Green's Lodge, induced the engineers to mount still higher, and endeavour to erect a battery on the summit of the northern front of the rock: a place therefore was levelled, and a road for wheeled carriages begun at Middle Hill. The 4th, a soldier of the 58th, attempted to desert from Middle Hill guard, but was dashed to pieces in his descent. The artillery were too impatient to have a gun mounted on the summit of the rock, to wait till the new road was

finished: they accordingly determined to drag a 24-pounder up the steep craggy face of the rock; and in a few days, with great difficulty and prodigious exertions, they were so successful as to get it to the top. The 9th, a party of the navy attempted to cut off two Spanish polacres, becalmed between Algeziras and their camp. Our seamen spiritedly boarded one, and were on their return with the other, when two galleys from Point Mala gave chase, maintaining a smart and well-directed fire as they advanced, and gained so considerably on the prizes that the captors were reluctantly obliged to quit them, and betake themselves to their boats. The *Childers* sloop-of-war was ordered out to protect them, and fortunately was in time to stop the progress of the galleys. The tiller of one of our barges was carried away by a shot, but no other damage was received.

The platform on the summit of the rock was completed on the 12th; and, the gun being mounted, the succeeding day we saluted the enemy's forts with a few rounds of shot and shells. This gun was mounted on a traversing carriage, and was distinguished by the name of the Rock Gun. From that post we had nearly a bird's-eye view of the enemy's lines, and, with the assistance of glasses, could distinctly observe every operation in their camp. In the afternoon of the 16th, a servant of Mr. Davies (the agent victualler of the garrison), under pretence of looking for a strayed goat, obtained leave to pass Land Port barrier, and immediately went over to the enemy. The desertion of this man gave us some concern, as probably, to ensure a favourable reception, he might have taken with him some memorandums of the state of our provisions.

The enemy's parties had not been remarkably active in the beginning of the month; but about the

17th and 18th, their workmen in the lines were more numerous than usual, which produced a more animated fire from our batteries. As our artillery by this time were accustomed to fire from heights, the small shells did considerable execution amongst their workmen, many of whom we observed were carried off. On the evening of the 19th, the governor was at Willis's, to see an experiment of a light ball, invented by Lieutenant Whitham, of the artillery. It was made of lead, and, when filled with composition, weighed 14 lbs. 10 oz. This ball, with 4 lbs. of powder, was fired at six degrees of elevation, out of a 32-pounder, upon the glacis of their lines: it burnt well; and the experiment would have been repeated, had not a thick fog suddenly arisen. The governor was at Willis's the succeeding morning, to see a second: when, the fog being totally dispersed, the light ball answered his expectation. The enemy, during the night, had been uncommonly noisy; but when the light balls were fired, no parties were discovered at work. Nevertheless, at daybreak, to our great surprise we observed 35 embrasures opened in their lines, forming three batteries; two of 14 each, bearing on our lines and Willis's, and one of 7, apparently for the town and Water Port. They were cut through the parapet of their glacis, and situated between the barrier of the lines and Fort St. Philip. The embrasures were all masked, and many of the merlons were in an unfinished state: the governor ordered the artillery to direct their fire on these works, and on the 7-gun battery in particular, where they had a party finishing what was left imperfect in the night.* In the afternoon, a Venetian was

* From the distance of these batteries, we did not imagine they would ever materially injure the garrison; but the cannonade and bombardment of 1781 convinced us of our error.

brought-to by a gun from Europa, and came in: two galleys attempted to cut her off, but in vain.

Our workmen now became exceedingly diligent; new communications and works were raised in the lines, which were reinforced at night with a subaltern and 43 men; the alarm-posts of the regiments were also changed, and other arrangements took place. On the night of the 20th, we imagined, from the noise in the enemy's lines, that their carpenters were platforming the new batteries, the merlons of which they had cased and capped with fascines. Their boyau now extended from the fascine park, almost to the barrier of the lines. The 23rd, a prize settee, laden with rice, was sent in from the eastward: she was taken by a privateer belonging to Mr. Anderson, of the garrison, the captain of which thought the cargo would be useful to the inhabitants; and indeed this supply was truly seasonable. No vessel or boat had arrived for six weeks (excepting the Venetian, on the 20th instant), and every article in the garrison began to sell at a most exorbitant price: this trifling addition of provisions was therefore well received by the miserable Jews and Genoese, though the rice sold for 21 dollars 6 reals per cwt., which at 40*d.* sterling the dollar is 3*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

The enemy's artillery, on the 26th, decamped from their old ground, before the right wing of their front line, and took post near the Catalonians, where they were reinforced with a detachment that had lately joined. The following night, the Dutch dogger, which had brought us the supply of wheat some weeks before, sailed for Malaga: she took 73 Genoese and Spanish passengers. The next day our artillery got up to Middle Hill two 24-pounders, to be in readiness for a new battery, which was erected below the rock gun. Another 24-pounder was taken to the same

place, on the morning of the 25th. Our firing still continued, as the enemy's parties were daily bringing down timber and other materials for their new batteries.

The 30th, an English privateer, called the *Peace and Plenty*, eighteen 6-pounders, ——— M'Kenzie, master, attempting to get in from the eastward, ran ashore half-way between Fort Barbara and the Devil's Tower. Some of the crew came on shore on the neutral ground; the remainder, with the master, were brought off by the admiral's boats; and on the night of the 31st she was burnt. As there was something extraordinary and unaccountable in the circumstances attending the loss of this vessel, I cannot resist the temptation of relating them more at large. In the morning she was bearing down under a fine sail and leading wind, for Europa advanced guard, as two xebeques were cruising off Europa Point. One of the xebeques, about nine, got within shot of her: a few rounds were exchanged, and the privateer was apparently resolved to fight her way in; but on a sudden she altered her course, and ran ashore under the enemy's guns, about 400 or 500 yards from the garrison. The boatswain was killed, and several others wounded from the fort, before our boats arrived to their relief.

Towards the conclusion of the month, the small-pox was discovered in the garrison, amongst the Jews. The governor, apprehensive that it might spread amongst the troops, and be attended with dangerous consequences, ordered those who had never been affected with that disorder, to be quartered at the southward until the infection should disappear; and every precaution was taken to prevent its communicating. In the evening of the 31st, the new battery below the rock gun was finished: it mounted four 24-pounders, and was called the Royal battery.

November was not introduced by any remarkable event. The fire from our batteries was variable, as their workmen were employed. Considerable deposits of fascines, with planks and pieces of timber, were formed in the Spanish lines; and other parts of their glacis were raised with fascines and sand for additional mortar batteries. The 3rd, the enemy began to form merlons at Fort Tonara, on the eastern shore, which, joined with the circumstances of their erecting two fascine batteries on the beach, between Fort St. Philip and Point Mala, and one near the magazine at the Orange Grove, gave us reason to suppose that they expected a fleet in their neighbourhood. Few workmen were at this time to be seen in their lines: a party was trimming up the boyau: and numbers were employed about the landing-place in disembarking stores; which appeared to be their chief employment.

Provisions of every kind were now becoming very scarce and exorbitantly dear in the garrison; mutton 3*s.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* per pound; veal 4*s.*, pork 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.*, a pig's head 19*s.*, ducks from 14*s.* to 18*s.* a couple; and a goose a guinea. Fish was equally high, and vegetables were with difficulty to be got for any money; but bread, the great essential of life and health, was the article most wanted. It was about this period that the governor made trial of what quantity of rice would suffice a single person for twenty-four hours, and actually lived himself eight days on four ounces of rice per day. General Eliott was remarkable for an abstemious mode of living, seldom tasting anything but vegetables, simple puddings, and water; and yet was very hale, and used constant exercise: but the small portion just mentioned would be far from sufficient for a working man kept continually employed, and in a climate where the heat necessarily

demands very refreshing nourishment to support nature under fatigue.

Two deserters came in, with their arms, on the night of the 11th. They belonged to the Walon Guards, a corps in the Spanish service, composed principally, if not entirely, of foreigners. The following morning they were conducted to Willis's, whence they had a view of the enemy's works, which they described to the governor. The Spanish army were under arms on the 12th, in the front of their camp, and were dismissed by corps as the general passed.

The 14th, arrived the *Buck* cutter privateer, Captain Tagg, carrying twenty-four 9-pounders. The abilities and bravery of a British sailor were so eminently conspicuous in the captain's conduct previous to his arrival, that even our enemies could not help bestowing on him the encomiums to which his merit entitled him. About eight in the morning, the privateer was discovered in the Gut, with a westerly breeze. The usual signal for seeing an enemy was made by the Spaniards at Cabrita Point: and Admiral Barcelo, with a ship of the line, one of 50 guns, a frigate of 30, two xebeques, a settee of 14 guns, with half-galleys, etc., etc., to the number of 21, got under way to intercept her. On the first alarm a xebeque at anchor off Cabrita had weighed, and stood out into the Straits: the cutter nevertheless continued her course; but observing the whole Spanish squadron turning the Point, she suddenly tacked, and stood towards the Barbary shore: the xebeques, frigate, and lighter vessels pursued, but were carried down to leeward by the irresistible rapidity of the current, whilst the cutter in a great degree maintained her station. As it may appear very extraordinary to readers unacquainted with nautical affairs, that the

privateer should not be equally affected by the current, it may be necessary to inform them, that a cutter, or any vessel rigged in the same manner, from the formation of her sails can go some points nearer the wind than a square-rigged vessel; which advantage, on this occasion, enabled Captain Fagg to turn better to windward, by stemming the current, whilst the Spaniards, by opposing their broadsides, were carried away to the eastward. But to resume the narrative: Barcelo, who had his flag on board the 74, was the last in the chase, and, perceiving his squadron driving to leeward, prudently returned to the Point, to be in readiness to intercept her in the bay. The 50-gun ship also laid her head to the current, and keeping that position, drove very little in comparison with her friends. Affairs were thus situated when Captain Fagg, persuaded that the danger was over, boldly steered for the garrison. The 50-gun ship endeavoured to cut her off from the eastward, but was compelled to retire by our batteries at Europa: and Barcelo got under weigh to intercept her from Cabrita Point; but finding his efforts ineffectual, he was obliged to haul his wind, and giving her two irregular broadsides, of grape and round, followed his unsuccessful squadron to the eastward. The cutter insultingly returned the Spanish admiral's fire with her stern-chase, and soon after anchored under our guns.

The expectations of the troops and inhabitants, who were spectators of the action, had been raised to the highest pitch: few doubted but she was a king's vessel; and as no intelligence had been received from England for many weeks, their flattering fancies painted her the messenger of good news; probably the forerunner of a fleet to their relief. But what was their despondency and disappointment, when

they were informed that she was only a privateer, had been a considerable time at sea, and put in for provisions! Though our condition in the victualling-office became weekly more and more serious, yet the governor generously promised Captain Fagg assistance. What indeed could be refused to a man by whose boldness and skilful manœuvres the port was once more open, and the bay and Straits again under the command of a British admiral? Only two or three half-galleys returned to Cabrita Point; the rest of their squadron were driven far to leeward of the rock.

Assuming the liberty of a short digression in this place, it may be necessary to inform the reader of the extent and breadth of the Straits of Gibraltar, and acquaint him at the same time with the opinions of different writers concerning the perpetual current that sets into the Mediterranean Sea, from the great Atlantic Ocean, which has so long engaged the attention of many celebrated natural philosophers.

The Straits of Gibraltar (formerly known by the name of the Herculean Straits) are about twelve leagues in extent, from Cape Spartel to Ceuta Point, on the African coast, and from Cape Trafalgar to Europa Point, on the coast of Spain. At the western entrance, they are in breadth about eight leagues, but diminish considerably about the middle, opposite Tarifa (a small fishing-town on the Spanish coast, originally a place of great consequence and strength), though they widen again between Gibraltar and Ceuta, where they are about five leagues broad.

Philosophers, who have communicated their sentiments on the extraordinary phenomenon of a constant current, differ widely in accounting for the disposition of that continual influx of waters, which,

it is natural to suppose, would, without some consumption or return, soon overflow the boundaries of the Mediterranean Sea. The ingenious Dr. Halley was of opinion, that this perpetual supply of water from the vast Atlantic Ocean was intended by nature to recruit what was daily exhaled in vapour: others again think, the waters that roll in with the centre current are returned, by two counter-streams, along the African and Spanish shores. That there are two counter-streams is without doubt; but their rapidity and breadth bear little proportion to the principal current. A third class suppose a counter-current beneath, and of equal strength with the upper stream; and this opinion appears confirmed by a circumstance related by Colonel James, in his description of the Herculean Straits, of a Dutch ship being sunk in action by a French privateer off Tarifa, which some time afterwards was cast up near Tangier, four leagues to the *westward* of the place where she disappeared, and directly against the upper current. This hypothesis receives also additional support from the repeated disappointments which have been experienced by many naval officers, in attempting to sound the depth of the Straits with the longest lines: for the opposition between the currents might carry the line in such directions as to defeat the intention of this experiment.

These facts seem strongly to indicate a recurrency to the westward; which, though it may not be so rapid as the upper stream, yet, with the assistance of the currents along the Spanish and Barbary shores, and the necessary exhalations, may account for the Mediterranean Sea never increasing by the constant supply received from the Atlantic Ocean. The rapidity of the superior current renders the passage from the Mediterranean to the westward very precarious and uncertain, as ships never can stem the stream without

a brisk Levanter, or easterly wind. Vessels, therefore, are often detained weeks and sometimes months, waiting for a favourable breeze; in which case they find a comfortable berth in the bay of Gibraltar.

To return to my narrative.

Two frigates, on the night of the 14th, joined the enemy's small craft in the bay, from the west. It was thought from some preparations that were made on board our men-of-war the succeeding evening, that Admiral Duff intended an attempt to cut out or destroy these ships: a council was held in the navy, and the practicability of such an enterprise debated; but nothing was done.

The bay being again open, the night of the 19th a Moorish settee came in, with 39 bullocks and a few sheep: the former were so weak and poor, that many of them died on the beach as soon as they were landed: they were, however, a most acceptable supply. The patron informed us that a vessel had sailed the preceding night for the garrison, with 40 bullocks, 50 sheep, and 30 goats; which we imagined was taken by the galleys at the Point. The following day, a Swede stood in for the garrison, with a signal at her fore-top-gallant mast-head, by which she was known to be laden with provisions, and consigned to an inhabitant. Off the Point she was boarded by a row-boat, and conducted immediately to Algeziras. The 23rd the governor proportioned the fuel to the officers. This article was now become scarce and important. The coals in the garrison were few: what fuel, therefore, was issued at this period, was wood from ships bought by government, and broken up for that purpose, but which had so strongly absorbed the salt water, that it was with the utmost difficulty we could make it take fire.

A small boat arrived on the 24th, with a packet

from Mr. Logie: this packet was landed at Mogadore in South Barbary, by the *Fortune* sloop-of-war, Captain Squires. If I rightly recollect, it was upon this occasion that the following successful stratagem was effected, through the fidelity of a Moor entrusted by Mr. Logie to carry the dispatches to that part of the coast, whence, to prevent interception, he thought it prudent to send them to Gibraltar. The Spaniards, acquainted with the importance of these dispatches, wished to prevent them coming to our hands; and accordingly offered 1,000 cobs (about 225*l.* sterling) to the Moor, to induce him to betray his trust, and pretend he had been robbed on his way to the coast. The faithful Moor immediately acquainted the consul with the offer, who directed him to promise that he would comply. In the interval Mr. Logie prepared false dispatches, in ciphers, signed and dated them from St. James's, and affixed a seal from the cover of a letter from Lord Hillsborough to himself: these were inclosed in the usual form, and directed to General Eliott. The Moor received part of the bribe, and delivered up the fictitious packet: Mr. Logie on his return appeared much distressed by the accident, and the next evening sent the real dispatches to Gibraltar.

The wind veering round to the southward, on the 26th Admiral Barcelo returned from Ceuta to his old anchorage off Algeziras, and the port again became closely blockaded. A deserter came in, on the morning of the 30th, from the lines; he belonged to the Walon Guards; and about five in the afternoon, another Walon deserted to us. They fired several muskets at the latter, and he turned about and returned the shot: three horsemen then pursued him, but were driven back by our artillery. After the first gun-fire, two more came in of the same corps.

The enemy's operations continued to be confined

to the completion of their batteries, and the finishing of their boyau. In their camp we observed them busily employed in erecting huts for the accommodation of their troops against the winter rains, which now had begun to set in. On the other hand, the governor made every necessary addition to the works. Water Port covered way was doubly palisaded, and a battery for three guns erected on the projecting quay; a work of masonry, to mount two guns, was built at Ragged Staff; and traverses of casks and earth were raised on the different roads, on the north front, to secure the communications. Some improvements were also made in the batteries and works at Europa.

December commenced with the capture of a Genoese polacre, becalmed off Europa. Our sailors found about 220*l.* in money on board, with some letters, from which we learned that the enemy sustained some loss in the lines from our fire. The 4th, the enemy beat a parley, and sent in a mule (belonging to Colonel Green, the chief engineer) which had strayed to their lines; an instance of politeness which we did not expect. The 8th, another deserter came in; he was pursued, but we protected him. The subsequent day we observed several men about the western and eastern advanced stone guard-houses, who we imagined were posted there to prevent desertion. Our artillery endeavoured to dislodge them with round shot, but did not succeed. The 10th, the enemy fired several rounds, from Fort St. Philip, at our fishing-boats in the bay. Four soldiers of de la Motte's regiment, quartered on Windmill Hill, attempted, on the 13th, to desert; search was, however, immediately made for them, and two were retaken. Those who escaped were supposed to have got down by a rope-ladder, left by the party employed in cutting brush-wood for fascines. The next day another of

the enemy endeavoured to come over to us, but, being pursued by two horsemen, was cut down and secured. One of the horses belonging to the pursuers was killed by our fire, and the rider much bruised with the fall. The succeeding day this unfortunate man was executed on a new gallows, erected near their artillery park, and the body, according to custom, hung till sunset.

The governor, on the 19th, ordered that no guns should be fired from the garrison at the enemy's shipping, if the distance required more than 6° elevation; except when ships were chasing or engaged. On the 20th, the *Buck*, having refitted, sailed on a cruise to the eastward. We were afterwards informed that she unfortunately fell in with a French frigate, which, after a few broadsides, captured the *Buck*; but before she could be got into port, she sunk from the damage received in the action. On the night of the 26th, we had a most violent storm of rain, with dreadful thunder and lightning. The succeeding morning a vast quantity of wood, cork, etc., was floating under our walls: the rain had washed it from the banks of the Palmones and Guadaranque, and it was wafted by the wind over to our side of the bay. Fuel had long been a scarce article: this supply was therefore considered as a miraculous interference of Providence in our favour.

The enemy, the 27th, fired four guns from Fort St. Philip: one of the shot struck the extremity of Prince's lines. Whether these were fired to frighten our fishermen, who were dragging their nets near the farther gardens, without Land Port, or only as an experiment, we could not say, as they immediately ceased on our returning the fire from Willis's. The day following, came in three deserters; and the same morning the *Fly* packet-boat arrived from Tangier,

with 40 goats, fowls and eggs, but no mail: this cargo, though trifling, was highly acceptable. The deserters informed us that the enemy were almost overflowed in their lines, from the late excessive rains: in some places, particularly near the new batteries, the water was two and three feet deep; and their efforts to drain it off had hitherto been ineffectual. The 28th, a soldier of Hardenberg's deserted down the back of the rock.

January, 1780, did not commence with any very interesting events. A squadron of men-of-war passed through to the west on the 2nd: it being hazy, we could not distinguish of what nation they were; but many thought them Spaniards from Carthagena. On the evening of the 5th, a fire broke out in the enemy's camp, which, we afterwards learned, destroyed four officers' marquees, and six or seven huts. The following day, after gun-fire, two Walons deserted to us: they brought information that upwards of forty mortars were mounted in the lines, and that all their batteries were completed with cannon.

A Neapolitan polacre was luckily driven under our guns on the 8th, and obliged to come in. On board we found about 6,000 bushels of barley, a cargo (circumstanced as we were) of inestimable value. The bakers had long been limited to the quantity of bread daily to be issued to the inhabitants, and sentries were placed at the wickets where it was delivered, to prevent confusion and riot. The strongest, nevertheless, had the advantage; so that numbers of women, children, and infirm persons returned to their miserable habitations, frequently without tasting, for some days, that chief, and perhaps necessary support of life. The inhabitants were not the only sufferers in this scene of distress; many officers and soldiers had families to support out of the pittance received from the victualling-office. A soldier, with his wife and three children,

would inevitably have been starved to death, had not the generous contribution of his corps relieved his family. One woman actually died through want; and many were so enfeebled that it was not without great attention they recovered. Thistles, dandelion, wild leeks, etc., were for some time the daily nourishment of numbers. Few supplies arriving from Barbary, and there appearing little prospect of relief from England, famine began to present itself with its attendant horrors. Had there been a glimmering hope of assistance from home, it would have enabled many to support themselves under this accumulation of distress; but, alas! we seemed entirely abandoned to our fortune.

Not only bread, but every article necessary to the support of life, was hard to be procured, and only to be purchased at exorbitant prices. Veal, mutton, and beef sold from *2s. 6d.* to *4s.* per pound; fresh pork, from *2s.* to *3s.*; salt beef and pork, *1s. 3d.* per pound; fowls, *18s.* per couple; ducks, *21s.*; firewood, *5s.* per cwt.; a pint of milk and water, *1s. 3d.* Vegetables were extremely scarce: a small cabbage cost *1s. 6d.*, and a small bunch of the outward leaves sold for *5d.* Irish butter, *2s. 6d.* per pound; eggs, *6d.* each: and candles, *2s. 6d.* per pound. The best fish was most exorbitantly dear, considering on what terms the garrison had been formerly supplied. It is natural to suppose, from the rock being almost surrounded with the sea, that we should have a constant resource in this article. The contrary was, however, the case: our fishermen were foreigners, and being under no regulation, they exacted, by degrees, most extravagant sums for what some months before we should have refused with disgust.

This extreme scarcity of provisions, it may well be imagined, could not fail to exercise the invention of

individuals. A singular mode of hatching chickens was about this time successfully practised by the Hanoverians; and, as it may be acceptable to some readers, the process, as communicated by a friend, is here inserted. The eggs were placed, with some cotton wool, or other warm substance, in a tin case of such construction as to be heated either by a lamp or hot water; and, by a proper attention to the temperature of heat, the eggs were commonly hatched in the usual time of a hen's sitting. A capon (however strange it may appear) was then taught to rear them. To reconcile him to this trust, the feathers were plucked from his breast and belly; he was then gently scourged with a bunch of nettles, and placed upon the young hatch, whose downy warmth afforded such comfort to the bared and smarting parts, that he, from that period, reared them up with the care and tenderness of a mother.

Early in the morning of the 10th, a squadron of ships was seen to the east, which had passed through in the night; five were of the line, and one under jury-masts: supposed to be Count d'Estaing's fleet from the West Indies. The same day a soldier of the 58th regiment was executed for stealing: he was the first man who had suffered since General Eliott had been governor. The day following, the enemy fired, from Fort St. Barbara, on a clergyman performing the last office over the corpse of a soldier of the 72nd regiment, at the burial-ground near the governor's meadow. The party immediately retired, though not before they had deposited their charge. As this conduct convinced us that the enemy would not permit us to bury our dead without the garrison, a part of the red sands behind the Princess of Wales's lines was appropriated to that purpose.

The 12th, they surprised us again with ten shot

from Fort St. Philip; several came into the town, and did some trifling damage amongst the buildings. The inhabitants, whose alarms had not totally subsided since the middle of September, when the governor opened upon the enemy, were now perfectly convinced they meant to return our fire; and accordingly began, on the first report of their guns, to remove themselves to the southward. Some in the greatest confusion endeavoured to secure their valuables in town; but the firing ceasing, the fugitives, before night, summoned up sufficient courage to return. A woman, passing near one of the houses, was slightly hurt. It was singular that a female should be the first person wounded by the enemy at this remarkable siege. In the evening, the commanding officers had orders to inform their corps that the governor was under the necessity of curtailing the weekly allowance of provisions. Disagreeable as this intelligence was, and particularly when we consider the distress which many experienced even with the full allowance, the men received it without the smallest appearance of discontent. Convinced of the necessity, they acquiesced with cheerfulness; indeed, to do them justice, in all the vicissitudes of this trying period the garrison submitted, without murmuring, to every necessary regulation, however unpleasing. It was fortunate for many that this short allowance of provisions did not continue long: nay, it remained a doubt with some whether, at the time, the governor was not apprised of a relief being near, and did not enact this regulation solely to make trial of the disposition of his troops. If so, how satisfactory a circumstance must it have been to find the army under his command accord with so much good humour to what might be considered as a real hardship, however indispensable!

Admiral Duff, on the 13th, gave orders to the men-

of-war and armed vessels to be prepared, in case a convoy was near, to afford every protection to any straggling ships that might attempt the port before the main body arrived. This caution confirmed us in the opinion of a convoy being expected; and a general joy was diffused throughout the garrison at the flattering, though probably distant, prospect. Two days after, a brig, which with other vessels seemed to be going through to the east, suddenly altered her course, and, notwithstanding she was opposed by the enemy, anchored under our walls. A ship with the British flag, entering the bay, was so uncommon a sight that almost the whole garrison were assembled at the southward to welcome her in; but words are insufficient to describe their transports on being informed that she was one of a large convoy which had sailed the latter end of the preceding month for our relief. The distressed Jews, and other inhabitants, were frantic with joy; and the repeated huzzas from all quarters for some time prevented further inquiries. We afterwards learned that she had parted company with the convoy in the Bay of Biscay, and off Cadiz had discovered nine sail of large ships, which the master concluded were Spaniards stationed there to oppose their entrance. The latter part of their information gave us much uneasiness. The enemy, we concluded, would have good intelligence of the force of the British convoy. If, therefore, any opposition was intended, a superior squadron would consequently be stationed at the entrance of the Straits. These reflections damped, in a great degree, the pleasure we before experienced, and made us apprehensive that the relief was not so near as we at first expected. The prospect of it had, however, a very visible effect on the price of provisions, which immediately fell more than two-thirds.

Since it was probable that straggling ships might attempt the port before the body of the convoy approached, the *Childers* sloop-of-war and armed vessels were ordered to cruise in the bay to protect them from the enemy's small-craft. Previous to the arrival of the brig, a soldier of the 58th regiment deserted from a party employed behind the rock in gathering shrubs, etc., for fascines. The 16th, a Walon deserted to us, by whom we were informed that the enemy had everything prepared in their lines to bombard the town. At another time we should have been greatly alarmed at this intelligence; but our thoughts were too much engaged with the pleasing though uncertain hopes of relief to reflect on the consequences of a bombardment. In the evening our apprehensions concerning the convoy were totally dispelled by the arrival of a brig laden with flour, which communicated the joyful news that on the 8th of January Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney had captured off the coast of Portugal, a Spanish 64-gun ship, five of 32 and 28 guns, with fifteen merchantmen, belonging to the Caracca Company, going from Bilbao to Cadiz; and that, with a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line and a large convoy of merchant-ships and transports, he was proceeding to our relief. Every idea of opposition at this information immediately vanished; and we anticipated the flattering prospect of seeing the British flag once more triumphantly displayed in the Mediterranean.

The weather on the 17th was very hazy; but clearing up the succeeding day, one of the prizes arrived without any opposition from the enemy. The midshipman who brought her in informed us, that when he parted with the fleet on the 16th, Sir George was engaged with a Spanish squadron off Cape St. Mary's; and that, just before they lost sight of them,

a ship of the line blew up; but he was at too great a distance to distinguish whether she was friend or foe. In the evening one of the armed Caracca prizes came in, but no further particulars of the engagement could be learned. Our anxiety concerning the event of the action was, however, removed a few hours afterwards by the appearance of the convoy itself off Europa. The wind, at that critical time, unfortunately failed them; and the vivid flashes of lightning, by which we had discovered the fleet at the first, only served to exhibit them to us driving with the current to the eastward of the rock. The *Apollo* frigate, Captain Pownall, with one or two merchantmen, nevertheless got in about eleven; and by the former the governor and garrison were acquainted with the agreeable tidings of a complete victory over the Spanish Admiral, who, with three others of his squadron, was taken: one was run ashore, another blown up in the engagement, and the rest dispersed.

We now found that the plan for relieving Gibraltar had been conducted at home with such secrecy and prudence that the enemy never suspected that Sir George meant to convoy the transports to the Straits, with so strong a fleet. By their intelligence from Brest, they understood he was to separate in a certain latitude, and proceed with the main body of the men-of-war to the West Indies. Thus deceived, they concluded that the transports with their convoy would fall an easy prey to their squadron, which consisted of eleven men-of-war, all chosen ships from their grand fleet.

At daybreak, on the morning of the 19th, the enemy unmasked one of their 14-gun batteries. The guns, with those in the fort, were all elevated, and the lines reinforced with two regiments of infantry. The governor, notwithstanding these appearances,

ordered a royal salute to be fired at six o'clock from Willis's. The *Panther* man-of-war was decorated, and also fired a salute on account of this victory. About seven the *Edgar* arrived, with the *Phœnix* prize of 80 guns, having on board the Spanish admiral, Don Juan de Langara y Huarte. This ship had lost her mizen and main-top-masts, but seemed little injured in the hull. The admiral, who was wounded in the engagement, was conducted on shore in the evening to lodgings in town, and had every attention and compliment paid him which were due to his rank. At night, Admiral Digby, in the *Prince George* worked round Europa with eleven or twelve ships; but Sir George remained with the crippled prizes, and with the main body of the fleet, off Marbella, a Spanish town, formerly of note, sixteen leagues to the eastward of Gibraltar.

The 20th, being the anniversary of the King of Spain's birthday, Admiral Barcelo's ships were decorated according to custom. When the colours were struck in the evening, the flag-ship, with her consort of 50 guns, was hauled close in land; and the next day a large party began to erect a battery on the shore for their protection; being apprehensive, probably, of an attack from the British fleet. The night of the 21st, the enemy unmasked the other batteries in the lines, which again caused a general disturbance amongst the inhabitants. Everything seemed now prepared to fire upon the town. The convoy continued beating up: but the prizes were so damaged in their rigging that they could not be expected to make the bay till the wind veered round to the east. Early on the 22nd, several men-of-war, in coming into the bay, were carried down under the enemy's batteries near Point Mala, which occasioned a general alarm in their camp. Drums beat

to arms, and their artillery opened in an instant. The boats of the fleet, however, were ordered to their assistance, and the ships were towed back without receiving much damage. One man was killed and two wounded on board the *Terrible*; all of them Spanish prisoners.

Sir George, on his arrival off the coast of Barbary, had sent intelligence to Mr. Logie to prepare supplies for the garrison. Three vessels therefore sailed in the course of the 22nd for Tetuan to bring over what was at hand. The consul had provided cattle, fascines, pickets, etc., in readiness for the ships when they arrived; but, to his surprise, the ships sent in the hurry of business, under convoy of the *Bedford*, were transports fitted up for the reception of troops, with many weeks' provisions on board; and before the berths could be removed to admit the supplies, the wind came easterly, and the ships were obliged to return without them. This oversight was of great detriment to the garrison, as at this period we might have procured fresh provisions, which with economy would have served for some months. The garrison vessels were afterwards sent for these articles; but after Sir George Rodney's departure, most of them were detained by the vigilance of the enemy's cruisers.

We learned by the *Childers*, on the 23rd, that Sir George was at anchor, with the prizes, in Tetuan Road; and waited only a favourable wind to join the remainder of the fleet in the bay. As the town of Tetuan has frequently been mentioned in the preceding pages, and probably will as often occur in the course of the subsequent, the reader will perhaps not be displeased to find in this place a short description of it. Tetuan is a very ancient town in Barbary, situated to the south-east of Ceuta, about six miles from the sea, on a river which meanders beautifully

through a pleasant country; but which has a bar at the entrance, that renders it unnavigable for large ships. Small vessels get up about two miles, as far as Marteen, which is the quay and port of Tetuan. The town is walled round with square towers at different distances to flank the curtains. It is built on the gentle slope of a hill: and the houses being white, with flat roofs, have the appearance at a distance of an encampment. The buildings are so contrived that a person may go from one end of the town to the other without descending into the streets, and in this manner their women, by occupying the upper stories, visit each other without being exposed to the sight of the male sex in the streets below.

The town has a manufactory, and carries on a considerable trade, principally in barter; the road is, however, so exposed towards the east, that ships cannot remain there during the Levant winds. The Moors exchange cattle, poultry, and fruit for other articles; and when there is a truce between the powers, supply several parts of Spain with provisions. The oranges of Tetuan are esteemed the largest and best flavoured of any in that part of the globe.

The enemy, we imagined, were not a little alarmed by the casual appearance of our ships on the morning of the 22nd, as, for several days after, they were busy in removing cannon from their artillery park to the different batteries along the coast. At Algeziras the top-masts and yards of the men-of-war were struck, and the ships hauled as close in land, under the protection of the new battery, as the depth of water would admit. Several Spanish officers were now permitted to return on their parole to Spain. The 24th, the *Childers* sailed back to Tetuan; and soon after arrived a British letter of marque from Newfoundland, laden with salt fish.

Whilst the fleet remained in the bay the governor and garrison were often honoured with the presence of the royal midshipman, Prince William Henry;* and when that youthful hero, on his return, laid his early laurels at the feet of his royal father, he presented, at the same time, a plan of the garrison. in the relief of which he had made his first naval essay. In that plan were delineated the improvements which the place had undergone, and the new batteries erected on the heights since the commencement of the blockade.

The mention of his royal highness brings to my recollection an anecdote of him, which occurred whilst the fleet was in the bay. The Spanish admiral, Don Juan Langara, one morning visited Admiral Digby, to whose charge the prince was entrusted, and Don Langara was of course introduced to his royal highness. During the conference between the admirals, Prince William retired; and when it was intimated that Don Juan wished to return, his royal highness appeared in his character of midshipman, and respectfully informed the admiral that the boat was ready. The Spaniard, astonished to see the son of a monarch acting as a petty officer, immediately exclaimed, "Well does Great Britain merit the empire of the sea when the humblest stations in her navy are supported by princes of the blood."†

* His late Majesty King William IV.

† In consequence of learning that doubts had been expressed respecting the authenticity of this anecdote, the author wrote, in 1835, to Sir Herbert Taylor, then private secretary to the King, and received from him the following reply:—

"My dear Colonel,—I have taken the earliest opportunity of submitting to the King the memorandum you left with me at St. James's Palace respecting the passage at page 90 of [p. 95 of the present edition] your valuable and interesting work, the 'History of the Siege of Gibraltar,' to which it refers; and I have now the

Three of the enemy, on the 25th, deserted to the garrison; a fourth attempting to desert, was retaken, and another was shot by the pursuers within musket-shot of our lines. We fired from Willis's at the horsemen who followed them, and wounded two of their horses. The deserters said it was reported that the enemy intended bombarding the town the succeeding day. For several preceding months we had reason, from their operations, to think such an event not improbable. Seven or eight mortar batteries had been distributed along their lines, in which, according to our intelligence, were upwards of forty mortars; these, with the cannon bearing on the garrison from their gun batteries, amounted in all to upwards of 100 pieces of ordnance. They, therefore, were not unprepared for such service; but whether the circumstance of the Spanish admiral and officers being lodged in the town might not at that time in some degree influence their conduct, or whether they were overawed by the strong naval force in their neighbourhood, they deferred the bombardment to a more distant period.

Sir George arrived in the *Sandwich* from Tetuan on the 25th; and the following day the prizes and remaining men-of-war were all at anchor in the bay. A council of war was immediately held on the admiral's arrival; but the subject of their debates was not made public. Late in the evening of the same day a Newfoundland vessel with fish, coming in, approached so close to the enemy's coast, that our guard-boats were obliged to bring her to her proper berth.

pleasure to acquaint you, by command of his Majesty, that the anecdote there given is correctly stated in every respect, and therefore that any alteration of it which may have been suggested is uncalled for.

"Windsor Castle, 24th of March, 1835."

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE BRYDGES RODNEY.

[*To face p. 96.*

The *Fortune* sloop carried over to Point Mala, on the 26th, the Spanish wounded prisoners: Admiral Langara, with his suite, still remained in Gibraltar. Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney landed on the 27th at Ragged Staff, and, after visiting the Spanish admiral, dined with the governor. Prince William, with Admiral Digby, etc., likewise dined at the convent. The same day the governor ordered those soldiers' wives and children who were not provided with twelve months' provisions to prepare to leave the garrison with the fleet; 250 lb. of flour, or 360 lb. of biscuit, was stated as sufficient for one person. By this regulation many useless hands were sent home, which would have been a vast burthen on the garrison, circumstanced as we afterwards were. The evening of the 28th the *Childers* sailed for England with despatches from the admiral; but meeting with a gale of wind at west, she was compelled to return, after losing her fore-yard and throwing four guns overboard. At night came in a deserter from the Walon Guards.

About noon, on the 29th, a large ship appeared from the westward: on doubling Cabrita Point she was discovered to be an enemy. Signals were instantly made for the *Edgar* and two frigates to attack her. In the meantime the Spaniard seemed greatly confused, but at last worked close in land, between two barbet batteries at the Point. Several broadsides were exchanged between her and the *Edgar*, whilst the frigates attacked the batteries. They were, however, after some time recalled, the admiral being apprehensive that they might sustain greater damage from the land than the object in action would excuse. The same day the second battalion of the 73rd regiment, or Lord M'Leod's Highlanders, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel George M'Kenzie,

disembarked from on board the fleet at the New Mole, and took possession of the casemates in the King's bastion, etc. This regiment was intended for Minorca; but General Eliott thought proper, with the advice of the admirals, etc., to detain them. Their strength at this time was 30 officers, 6 staff officers, 50 sergeants, 22 drummers, and 944 rank and file; an excellent reinforcement in our situation, since the scurvy had already begun to appear among us. Colonels Picton and Mawhood, with many other officers, joined their corps also by this fleet. On the night of the 29th, came in three more Walons. The *Minorca* convoy sailed on the 31st, under the *Marlborough*, *Invincible*, etc. The wind changing to the east in the evening, the *Childers* made another attempt to pass the Straits; which she effected, and carried home dispatches giving authentic accounts of the preceding victory.

Sir George, when he captured the Caracca fleet, judged that the cargoes of several would be useful to the garrison: he therefore brought with him what ships he thought would be serviceable, and landed their freights along with the supplies which government had sent out. A great number of guns of heavy metal, and some hundred barrels of powder, were also purchased from the Spanish prizes by the governor, notwithstanding he had received a large supply of the latter by the convoy. The artillery (whose constant practice it was to try the strength of powder on the batteries) afterwards compared the quality and strength of the British and Spanish powder, and found the former greatly superior.

In the beginning of February, the wind from the south-west blew a strong gale, which, from the foulness of the anchorage off Rosia Bay, etc., involved the fleet in great distress. Some of them were in very imminent danger of being forced upon the rocks,

particularly one of the Spanish prizes, which, without doubt, would have experienced that fate, if seasonable assistance had not been sent her, and the wind had not abated. The 3rd, Admiral Barcelo again hoisted his flag and ensign, having secured his ships by a strong boom, and completed the battery on the land, which mounted *22* guns. Merlons were also added to the fort on the island, which before was *en barbet.*

Three deserters came in on the 5th; they were immediately sent on board the fleet, where the others had been ordered the preceding day, to take their passage for England. These men gave dismal accounts of the enemy's sufferings in camp, where universal discontent prevailed on account of the great scarcity and dearness of provisions. We little doubted the truth of this intelligence: the neighbourhood of their camp, from our own knowledge of the country, was not capable of subsisting so large an army; consequently they were obliged to be supplied with provisions, etc., from places at a distance, and these resources since Admiral Rodney's arrival had been cut off. Our cruisers, in truth, not only obstructed these supplies, but also prevented the garrison of Ceuta from receiving the refreshments from Spain which their situation made necessary; and our intelligence from Barbary mentioned that that garrison was in a similar, if not worse condition than their opposite friends. If Sir George, therefore, had continued some time longer in the Mediterranean, our enemies probably would have been reduced to greater difficulties than we ourselves had experienced.

As the fortress of Ceuta is in some degree connected with the subject of the present narrative, it may not be improper to relieve the reader's attention by a brief description of it. The town of Ceuta is situated on the coast of Barbary, about 15 miles to the south-

ward of Gibraltar. At the time of the Romans it was a town of some note, but on the decline of that empire fell, like others, to the dominion of the Goths and Moors. Ceuta remained in the possession of the latter till the year 1414, when John I., King of Portugal, with a formidable force, surprised and took it. The Moors afterwards made many attempts to recover it, but in vain; and ever since it has remained in the possession of the Christians. Upon the demise of Henry of Portugal, in 1578, that crown was seized upon by the Spaniards; Ceuta consequently became a Spanish garrison: and when the Portuguese revolted under John, Duke of Braganza, in 1640, and again established themselves into a distinct kingdom, Ceuta did not, with the rest of the empire, return to its natural allegiance, but continued in the hands of the Spaniards, by whom it has been held ever since.

Being a promontory projecting into the sea, the situation of Ceuta is not much different from that of Gibraltar. The town, which is built on the neck of land that joins it to the continent, is strongly fortified in the modern manner. The suburbs are at some distance, in order to be more out of reach of the shells, in case of an attack from the land; and they extend to the foot of a mountain, at the extremity of the peninsula, on which are erected a watch-tower and castle, surrounded with a fortified wall, about a league in circumference. The fortifications are kept in good repair by slaves, who are sentenced to this punishment from the different prisons in Spain; and a strong garrison is kept in the fortress, to prevent a surprise from the Moors, who, like the Spaniards with respect to Gibraltar, have a watchful eye over it. The city is regularly furnished with provisions from the opposite ports in Spain; and being destitute of water, which was formerly conducted by an aqueduct from the

neighbourhood, is supplied with that article from Estepona, a small Spanish fishing-town about nine leagues to the eastward of Gibraltar.

Another deserter came in on the 10th of February. The day following, the invalids and women embarked on board the fleet. By the 12th the supplies were all landed, and the rigging of the Spanish prizes being repaired, the fleet prepared to return. The same day a flag of truce brought over some English prisoners: one of them, the master of a merchantman, which had been taken in her voyage to the garrison, informed us that the boom at Algeziras was a twenty-two inch cable-rope, buoyed up by casks, to prevent our sending fire-ships among their shipping.

The Spanish admiral having regulated with Sir George Rodney everything concerning the exchange and release of prisoners, was permitted on the 13th, to return upon his parole into Spain. He was conducted with part of his suite, in the governor's carriage, to the Spanish lines, where he was received by his friends, and with them proceeded on to the camp. The succeeding day, the remainder of the Spanish officers were taken by the *Fortune* sloop, and landed at the Orange Grove. Lieutenant Williams, of the navy (who, after taking possession of one of the Spanish prizes in the action off St. Mary's, was obliged to run her ashore near Cadiz, and surrender himself prisoner), returned with another officer, on board the sloop, to the garrison. The liberal and polite behaviour of the navy and the governor to Don Langara and his countrymen made a sensible and lasting impression on their minds, and was confessedly of great advantage to the English prisoners in Spain; particularly to those taken in our neighbourhood, who ever afterwards were treated with great attention and humanity.

In the evening of the 13th, the British fleet got

under way, excepting the *Edgar* and the *Panther* ships of the line, the *Enterprise* and *Porcupine* frigates, which were left behind, as great part of their crews had been removed to man the prizes. The enemy, on their appearing in motion, immediately gave the alarm, which was communicated by signals from their towers along the coasts towards Cadiz. At dusk few of our ships were in sight from the upper part of the hill.

CHAPTER IV

The garrison might now be considered in a very perfect state of defence. The scurvy indeed had begun to affect many, and threatened to become more general; but we flattered ourselves that the enemy would give up their intention of starving us to a surrender, and, by relaxing in their vigilance at sea, might afford us an opportunity of receiving constant supplies of those articles most essential to health. Our stores and magazines were full; a reinforcement had joined the garrison; and new spirits were infused into the troops, since they were convinced, from the powerful force sent to their relief, that they were not forgotten in the multiplicity of objects which necessarily engaged the attention of our friends at home.

Admiral Duff having returned on board the fleet to England, the command of the squadron that remained in the bay consequently devolved on Captain Eliott of the *Edgar*, who, on the 14th of February, hoisted his broad pendant as commodore.

The 16th of the same month, Admiral Barcelo removed the boom at Algeziras, and warped out to his former anchorage, immediately detaching his small craft to Cabrita Point, to intercept any ships that might attempt coming in. In the afternoon, the enemy executed two men in camp, who, it was imagined, had been retaken in attempting to desert: their bodies

were not cut down until the 20th. This punishment seemed, however, to have little effect; for at night three others came in, having swum round Fort Barbara. The multitude of deserters from the Spanish lines during the whole of the siege, is one of the circumstances least capable of a satisfactory explanation. What could these unhappy men expect in a confined and blockaded garrison, and even at a time when they could not fail to be acquainted with the distress and difficulties under which we laboured? The very act of escaping was attended with innumerable dangers; and, should the garrison afterwards fall into the hands of the enemy, they were certain to meet with the severest punishment. There is, however, a kind of heroism in the passions; disgust, or resentment, will prompt men to overlook dangers and difficulties, which, in the line of their duty, would be esteemed insurmountable.

A Venetian came in from the west, on the 21st; she spoke the British fleet all well to the west of Cape St. Vincent. The subsequent day, a Dutch prize, laden with flour, was sent in by the *Maidstone* privateer, which arrived herself on the 23rd. Several other vessels came in during the intermediate time to the 27th; when a Spanish squadron of four line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and a xebeque, joined Admiral Barcelo from the west, and again blocked up the port. From the patched and disorderly appearance of their sails and rigging, it was conjectured that they were fitted up in haste, and solely for the duty of the blockade: it gave us however some uneasiness to find them again likely to adopt their former system.

At daybreak, on the preceding day, we discovered a vessel at anchor off Water Port, which we fired upon, supposing her to be a Spaniard: she immediately sent her boat to Ragged Staff, and informed us that she

was of Naples, and bound to London; that she had touched at Minorca, and had on board two English discharged soldiers, and two women passengers. The boat returned, and soon after went on shore at Fort St. Philip, where it remained about half and hour. In the evening the enemy fired a shot at the vessel; upon which she sent her boat a second time ashore: we answered the shot from Willis's; nevertheless at night she went over unperceived to Algeziras.

In the beginning of March, three regiments decamped from the enemy's army, and took different routes. On the night of the 2nd, two Genoese sailors, who had formerly belonged to a privateer of the garrison, came over to us in a small boat from Algeziras. The following day a Spanish convoy under a commodore arrived in the bay, from the west. The governor on the 11th, ordered the garrison to be victualled monthly (bread excepted) in the following proportion: for a soldier, each first and third week, 1 lb. of pork, 2½ lbs. of salt fish, which had been purchased from the Newfoundland ship; 2 pints of peas; 1 lb. of flour; ¼ lb. of raisins; 1 lb. of rice; 5 oz. of butter; 1½ pint of oatmeal. Second and fourth week, 1½ lb. of beef; 2 lbs. of fish; 2 pints of peas; 1 lb. of rice; 5 oz. of butter; 1½ lb. of wheat; ¼ lb. of raisins. The salt cod being indifferent of its kind, and the soldiers not having proper vegetables to dress with it, proved very pernicious. This article continued to be delivered for near seven months; and undoubtedly, in a great degree, promoted that dreadful disorder, the scurvy, which had made its appearance before Sir George Rodney arrived, and afterwards became very general and fatal. The governor, however, in this new distribution, considered the hospital, whose proportion of salt meat was less, more nourishing articles being issued instead.

Notwithstanding the repeated assurances from the Spaniards, that the English prisoners in our neighbourhood should be exchanged for those taken with Admiral Langara, none were yet sent in agreeably to that admiral's promise: Commodore Eliott was therefore under the necessity of making a formal demand, and to enforce it told them, if they did not comply, he should expect the Spanish admiral would return with the officers then upon their parole. This convinced them the commodore was no longer to be trifled with; accordingly, on the 12th, about 390 British seamen were received on board the *Fortune* sloop, and distributed amongst the men-of-war, whose crews, as I have mentioned before, were sent to man the Spanish prizes. The same day a Moorish sloop came in from Malaga, and brought intelligence that the enemy had fitted up several fire-ships in the bay. In the evening three of the 72nd absented themselves from their corps; search was made the succeeding day, and two of them were discovered asleep in a cave, behind the Sugar-Loaf Point. They had cut up their working-dresses into shreds, which were tied together to favour their descent down the rock; and it is imagined the following night they would have repeated their attempt to get off. One of these men was afterwards executed, but the other was pardoned.

The *Fly* packet arrived the 14th, with an English mail. In the afternoon the *Maidstone* came in, with a settee prize, which the captain had cut out of Malaga road. A privateer, called the *Alert*, beat in from the west on the 15th, notwithstanding an easterly wind. A prize following her was taken off Cabrita Point. The 17th, the enemy sent in 41 British seamen, who were distributed as before.

The enemy at this time were not particularly employed. Some new arrangements were made in their

artillery park; and in their camp they were busy, collecting brush-wood for fascines, which caused various conjectures in the garrison concerning their future operations. A salute and feu-de-joie were fired in their camp on the 19th, supposed to be occasioned by the birth of a son to the Princess of Asturias. The night of the 23rd, the *Alert* sailed with dispatches for England; and on the 29th we received from the enemy more English prisoners. In the course of the month the garrison lost four men by desertion.

April was not remarkable for any events of moment. On the 2nd, the *Porcupine* frigate, Sir Charles Knowles, Bart., sailed to the eastward on a cruise. The 5th arrived the *Fly* packet: she reported that a merchantman, bound to the garrison, had been obliged by a north wind, when she was almost arrived in the bay, to pass to the eastward, and put into Tetuan, where she waited a favourable opportunity to renew her attempt. The *Fortune* sloop, on the 6th, took over to the enemy 300 Spaniards, who had been confined as prisoners for some time in our Navy hospital. She returned with nine British, and two days after took over 280 prisoners. The night of the 12th a sloop, with two settees, came in from Tangier: the former brought a packet from Mr. Logie; and the latter, cattle, and other acceptable articles. The following day we observed the enemy forming a bridge of pontoons across the mouth of the river Guadaranque. At night, the *Hyena* frigate, Captain Thomson, arrived in thirteen days from England. She was chased by the enemy's cruisers, and fired at, but received very little damage. The 20th, the *Edgar*, Commodore Eliott, and the *Hyena*, with a privateer, sailed to the west, notwithstanding the enemy's superiority in the bay. Admiral Barcelo seemed to suspect their intention; for instantly

on their appearing under sail, he made a signal for his squadron to pursue. The *Edgar* and her consort were, however, out of sight before the Spaniards got abreast of Cabrita Point.

Towards the conclusion of the month, the enemy were more active in their camp, and sometimes in the lines; to which place they brought down a great quantity of fascines. They were chiefly employed in raising the boyau, and making repairs, which were, however, so trifling, that our artillery did not disturb them. Besides the arrivals already noted, we received supplies by two or three boats from the Barbary coast; and in the course of a month, three deserters came over from the enemy, one of whom swam to Land Port from Tessé's battery, about halfway between Fort Philip and Point Mala.

May was not less barren of interesting occurrences than the preceding month. Several deserters attempted to get in, but some were so unfortunate as to be overtaken by their pursuers. These wretches were generally executed the succeeding day, but the example did not deter others from similar attempts.

The 4th, the *Fly* returned with fowls, leather, and fruit. Two days following, the enemy's army were under arms in two divisions, and performed a sham engagement. One division took post on the eminence above the stone quarry, under the Queen of Spain's Chair, and was attacked by the other from below. After a smart cannonade, and brisk discharge of musketry, the party above gave way; but the night prevented our observing the conclusion. The succeeding day, the *Fortune* received from a Spanish flag of truce 47 prisoners, very few of whom were British. At night small arms were discharged on the neutral ground, supposed to be at some deserters who were coming off. One Walon reached the barrier, and

informed us that several of his comrades agreed to follow him. The 10th, two men were executed in the Spanish camp; probably, the same who were retaken.

Another deserter, belonging to the regiment of Estremadura, came in on the 11th, and was remarkable for being the first native of Spain who deserted. The Spanish infantry in general is raised upon a local establishment. Each district is required, by an ancient law called the Quinta, to furnish a certain proportion of troops; and the men are enrolled for about seven or eight years' service, after which time they are permitted to return to their respective provinces; and as the Spaniards are all strongly attached to their native spot, desertion is consequently less common with them than with any other troops. Most of the men who deserted to us, came from those regiments in their service which are composed of foreigners.

A Swede was brought-to from Europa, the 15th, and obliged to come in. We were much disappointed in her lading, which was salt. We had a few days before received some supplies from Tangier; and on the 18th two boats arrived from Tetuan, with fowls and oil: the latter reported that the *Fly* packet, which had left us on the 11th, was driven ashore on the Barbary coast by the enemy's cruisers, who, after the crew had quitted her, took possession. We were much concerned at this intelligence; for the *Fly* was a fast sailor, and had been very fortunate in frequently passing in and out unobserved. The 20th, came in a Moorish sloop from Malaga, with butter, raisins, and leather: the latter article was much wanted; indeed, so scarce was it become in the garrison, that several officers, and most of the men, had been necessitated to wear shoes made of canvas, with soles of spun-yarn.

A letter of marque arrived on the 25th from Leghorn, with wine, oil, and other articles, a very valuable

cargo to the garrison. On the 30th the enemy's army were again under arms. Their manœuvres on that day were the attack and defence of a convoy. Their parties, as in the last month, continued arranging the ordnance in their artillery park, and bringing down to the lines materials for the repair of their works. Our artillery, however, took little notice of them.

In the beginning of June we received some seasonable supplies by the arrival of three boats from Tetuan and one from Tangier. By the latter we had intelligence that the *Fox* packet, from Faro, and a sloop, were at that place waiting an opportunity to get in; and by this, or one of the former vessels, Mr. Logie gave information that the enemy had prepared several fire-ships to burn our shipping in the bay. Two months before, he had intimated to Commodore Eliott that the Spaniards had five fire-ships in readiness for immediate use; and that they had once made an attempt to send them over, but the wind failed. Repeating the intelligence, therefore, at this time, was peculiarly fortunate, as the next night they attempted to put in execution their design. The same day, a Spanish ship of the line sailed from Algeziras to the eastward.

Our naval force at this period consisted of the *Panther*, of 60 guns, Captain Harvey (who, since Commodore Eliott's departure, commanded in the Mediterranean); the *Enterprise* frigate, Captain Lesley; two armed vessels commanded by lieutenants, with several armed ordnance transports, and other ships belonging to merchants. On the morning of the 7th, a little after midnight, the *Enterprise*, which was anchored to the northward off the New Mole head, discovered several sail approaching her from the opposite side of the bay: they were hailed, but, before satisfactory answers could be received, several fireworks and

inflammable substances were thrown on board, and six fire-ships suddenly appeared in the form of a crescent, bearing down upon her and the ordnance ships in the New Mole. Captain Lesley, with immediate presence of mind, instantly fired three guns to alarm his friends, and, cutting his cable, drove closer in shore. The *Panther* and shipping, on the appearance of the enemy, immediately commenced a brisk cannonade to retard their progress; and, manning their boats, the officers and seamen, with their usual intrepidity, grappled the ships; and, notwithstanding the fierceness of the flames, towed them, clear of our vessels, under the walls, where they were afterwards extinguished. Beside these six, which were intended for the New Mole, three others were lighted and directed towards the *Panther*, at anchor off Buena Vista; but one was towed off by the boats, and the other two were at so great a distance that they drove out to sea to the eastward.

The garrison was as early alarmed as the navy. The drums beat to arms; the guards were all upon their defence; and the pickets, with the different regiments, assembled at their posts, and continued under arms till daybreak. The artillery from the batteries seconded the fire from the ships; but the darkness of the night prevented any certain knowledge of the effect. The wind, which was favourable for their purpose in the beginning of the night, fortunately grew still when they were most in need of it. The largest of them, nevertheless, which was of the size of a large Indiaman, or 50-gun ship, would certainly have got into the New Mole amongst the ordnance-transports, had not a few bar-shot, from a 32-pounder at the Mole Head, turned her round, and then the current carried her into Rosia Bay.

The navy on this occasion cannot be too highly

commended for their courage, conduct, and alertness. Their intrepidity overcame every obstacle; and though three of the ships were linked with chains and strong cables, and every precaution was taken to render them successful, yet, with uncommon resolution and activity, the British seamen separated the vessels, and towed them ashore with no other injury to themselves than a few burns and bruises. The design altogether, to do justice to the ingenuity of Don Barcelo, was well projected, and his squadron judiciously stationed at the entrance of the bay to intercept our men-of-war in case they had attempted to escape from the fire-ships. We afterwards were informed that Admiral Barcelo proposed to Don Alvarez to draw off our attention from the southward by opening his land batteries on the town. Without doubt such a proceeding would have diverted the attention of the garrison in some measure from the shipping; but as the navy had the principal, nay, I may say, the sole honour of opposing the fire-ships, their endeavours would not have been less strenuous, nor of course less successful.

The hulls of the fire-ships were soon after broken up and sold to the inhabitants for fuel, and proved a most seasonable relief. Firing was become a more important article than before, which may appear very extraordinary to the reader, when he looks back to the short time which had elapsed since the departure of Sir George Rodney's fleet; but it is necessary to inform him that the colliers intended for the garrison were too late in coming round from the Downs to join at Spithead—Sir George Rodney therefore sailed without them,

The morning of the 8th, arrived the *Fox* packet, and another vessel from Faro; and in the course of the 10th and 12th, four boats came in from Tetuan and Tangier with various cargoes. The patrons reported

it was current at Tangier that we killed 14 or 15 men in the attack of the fire-ships, and that the Spaniards had several more fire-ships ready in the bay, with which it was not improbable they might make a second attempt. Our navy were consequently very vigilant, and kept a good look-out. For some weeks past we had been remarkably successful in receiving these small and very acceptable supplies. Their cruisers, however, now began to be more alert, and appeared to be stationed with better judgment. On the 15th, a boat was taken coming in, but her consort escaped; and on the 20th, another arrived from Tangier, which brought intelligence that a large ship, with coals and butter, bound to the garrison, was captured by the Spaniards two days before under the guns of Tangier. The 24th, several broadsides were exchanged between four of the enemy's ships, passing to Algeziras, and our shipping and batteries at the southward. Some few shot came ashore, but no particular damage was received. The *Enterprise* had 18 sailors burnt by the explosion of some powder.

Early on the 27th, four Spanish gunboats, with a xebeque and two galleys, approached under cover of the night and fired upon the *Panther*. A brisk discharge was, however, returned, and they soon retired. One shot struck the south pavilion, and three were fired through the *Panther*. This mode of annoyance the enemy afterwards greatly improved upon. These boats were strongly built, but ill finished: they had a small mast inclining forward from the centre of the boat, almost over the bow, upon which was hoisted a latine yard and sail, which, at anchor, served as an awning to the men on board. They rowed astonishingly swift, and each carried a 26-pounder in the bow. We never had a good opportunity of making any satisfactory observations on them, but judged

from their appearance that they were about 70 feet long and 20 broad.

In the beginning of July, the *Panther* man-of-war receiving upwards of 100 English prisoners from the enemy, Captain Harvey sailed for England. Some alterations and additions took place the same day in the garrison detail. The 4th, the *Fortune* brought over more British prisoners. We had received some supplies in the course of a few days by two Moorish boats, and they were followed on the 11th of July by one from Tangier, which informed us of a fleet having been seen off that coast, and that two boats had been taken coming into the bay. The fleet here mentioned was the combined fleet of France and Spain, which soon after captured our outward-bound East and West India fleets, and carried the greater part of them into Cadiz: one of the heaviest blows which British commerce had ever sustained.

The recent attempt of the enemy to burn the shipping and store-houses at the southward, added to the intelligence which the governor had received of the enemy's fleet being off Cadiz, caused him to direct particular attention towards that quarter of the garrison. Batteries for heavy metal were made on the rock above Parson's Lodge, at Rosia; and directions were given for the New Mole to be cleared of shipping, that the ordnance might have more liberty to play. Other alterations also took place in that neighbourhood. Early on the morning of the 17th, five gunboats and four galleys fired upon the *Enterprise* and shipping in the New Mole. One of the frigate's forecastle guns was dismounted, and her forestay cut: some shots came also on shore.

During the remainder of the month, our firing, which had been continued at intervals, was brisker on their parties, who were principally employed in

forming considerable depôts of fascines, casks, and timber, in the lines, and in collecting brush-wood from the country; they were likewise very busy in disembarking stores which had lately arrived. Several empty transport-vessels, in the course of this month, left the garrison for England. A man of the 58th regiment deserted to the enemy: one also came in from the lines.

In August few incidents occurred on either side. Our provisions began to be bad, and extremely offensive. The few supplies we now received, were rather luxuries than substantials: wine, sugar, oil, honey, onions, and articles of the like kind, composed chiefly the cargoes of those craft which arrived. Sugar was risen to *2s. 6d.* per pound, and everything else sold in proportion.

About 10 in the forenoon of the 3rd, a settee, coming in from the west, was chased by the enemy, and taken into Algeziras. We imagined it was the *Fox* packet, which we then anxiously expected with an English mail; and our conjectures afterwards were confirmed. The 10th, we observed the enemy laying a bridge of boats across the river Palmones. Two days following, a brig was boarded almost under our guns, and conducted to Algeziras. It was thought to be the same of which we had intelligence some time before, and which was laden with a variety of articles much wanted; her capture was therefore greatly lamented. The night of the 15th, six sailors deserted in a boat from the New Mole. The succeeding day, the *Fortune* sloop received from the enemy 64 prisoners. Ensign Bradshaw, of the 56th regiment, and several who were passengers in the brig taken on the 12th, were of the number. At night, five more sailors who were rowing guard, went over to the enemy. In the night, of the 25th, a Minorquin boat came in with

wine, tea, and sugar, in eight days. The 27th and 29th, a soldier and four sailors deserted to the enemy. It was imagined the sailors forced with them the midshipman who commanded the boat. Colonel Mawhood, of the 72nd regiment, died on the 29th.

A small boat arrived from Barbary on the 30th, with information that the Moors permitted the Spaniards to capture every English vessel which took refuge under the protection of their guns; that the Spaniards would not allow any boats to leave the bay of Tangier, and only waited for orders from Admiral Barcelo to burn and destroy what remained. This intelligence very sensibly affected us. To be cut off from what we had always considered our domestic market, was a stroke we little expected. We waited, however, more authentic proofs of this extraordinary conduct, before we could implicitly believe the defection of those whom during the present contest we had considered as our firm friends.

September was as barren with respect to material incidents as the preceding months. The enemy finished their pontoon bridge over the river Palmones on the 2nd. About a week afterwards two soldiers of the 56th deserted. On the 23rd, a flag of truce brought over the midshipman carried off by the sailors who deserted the latter end of August. The 29th, a deserter came in, in the habit of a peasant: he spoke several languages fluently, and said he had been a sergeant in their service. Some suspicions arising, he was charged to remain with part of the 58th regiment at Windmill Hill. The following day we remarked, that the enemy's guards in the lines, at the hour of relieving, amounted to about 300 infantry, and 70 artillery, besides cavalry.

The situation of the garrison by this time was again become very interesting. The blockade was,

GIBRALTAR LOOKING EAST.

Reproduced from an engraving in the original edition of the "History."

[*To face p.* 116.

if possible, more strict and vigilant than before. Chains of small cruisers were stationed across the Straits, at the entrance of the bay, and on every side of the rock; and the late disagreeable intelligence from Tangier seemed now confirmed, by our never having heard from that quarter during the month. The little assistance we therefore received, came from Minorca; but the supplies from that place were so trifling, and sold at such enormous prices, that few were able to purchase them. We had not been favoured with a cargo of cattle for a long period, and the scurvy began to gain considerable ascendancy over the efforts of our surgeons. Our distresses, in short, promised to be more acute and fatal than those we had already experienced.

The enemy's operations on the land side had been for many months so unimportant, as scarcely to merit our attention. However, on the morning of the 1st of October, we observed they had raised an epaulment, about 600 or 700 yards advanced from their lines. The preceding night, our out-guards had been alarmed with an unusual noise on the neutral ground, like that of men at work: several large fires also appeared, and some attempts were made to burn our advanced barriers with devils, and other combustibles, which were soon thrown off without taking effect: and notice was given to the lines, Land Port, and other guards. This alarm, however, was not general in the garrison. As the morning advanced, the noise ceased; and we discovered that they had set fire to the fishermen's huts in the gardens; but when the day permitted us to examine further, we observed the above-mentioned work.

The epaulment was about 30 yards in extent, of a simple construction, composed of chandeliers, fascines, and a few sand-bags; and was erected near the

windmill or tower on the neutral ground, distant about 1,100 yards from our grand battery. The enemy's guns were elevated, and batteries manned; which, with other preparations in the lines, seemed to argue that they expected we should fire, and were determined to oppose it. These appearances, probably, induced the governor not to take any particular notice of their work in the day: but at night, orders were sent to throw a few light balls, to discover if they were making any addition. The inhabitants immediately took the alarm, upon being told that the enemy had thrown up an advanced work, and that their batteries were manned; and at night very few remained at the north end of the town.

It now seemed evident the enemy had determined on a more serious attack, in case the second blockade was unsuccessful; but we were at a loss to imagine what motives could influence them to act so opposite to the established mode of approaching a besieged garrison, by erecting a work so distant, and which had no connection with their established lines.

The enemy's batteries continued to be manned till the 2nd; and in the afternoon of that day, Don Alvarez, accompanied by an officer, supposed to be the Count d'Estaing, who was expected in the Spanish camp when the last deserter came in, visited the lines. They remained three-quarters of an hour at Fort St. Barbara, viewing the rock with glasses. On their return they were saluted from Point Mala; and as they passed the front line of the camp, the regiments turned out without arms. On the night of the 3rd, a smart engagement was heard off Cabrita Point, supposed to be between some vessel attempting to come in, and the enemy's cruisers; and the next morning a sloop with English colours reversed was observed at Algeziras.

Early on the 4th, our advanced guards discovered the enemy endeavouring, a second time, to fix fire-faggots on our barriers. A smart discharge of musketry was immediately directed from these posts, and from the Queen's lines; on which they retired. At day-break we observed they had carried away vast quantities of vegetables from the gardens, and trampled others under foot: but little, if any, addition was made to the epaulment. A parley came in on the 5th; and soon after, the *Fortune* sloop received upwards of 40 British prisoners, many of whom had been taken going from the garrison. In the evening of the 6th, the Spanish general came to the lines, at the head of the relieving guards. Soon after he arrived, the guns were again elevated, and every preparation made, as if they had resolved to open on the garrison. The 8th, the town-major, Captain Burke, went out with a parley, intending to proceed to the tower, the place appointed by custom for the officers to give and receive communications. When he got abreast of the new work, the sentries by motions informed him he must not advance. He pointed to the tower; but they continued inflexible: on his turning round, however, to return, one of them came up with his arms, and proceeded with him to the tower, whilst another ran to acquaint the officer in the lines. The messenger after some time came back, and both remained apparently as a guard over Major Burke, till the officer arrived; when, delivering his packet, the major returned to the garrison.

The enemy did not appear very anxious to complete the epaulment; their parties were employed in raising and finishing the merlons of the batteries in the lines, raising the merlons of Fort St. Philip with fascines, and erecting a new battery near the guard-house on the beach. The 11th, a small settee arrived from

Minorca: the patron informing us that two others were standing for the rock, the navy manned their boats to assist them, in case the enemy opposed their entrance; but on getting round Europa Point, no such vessels appeared. A Dutch convoy was, however, passing: the boats therefore boldly advanced, and boarded a dogger which had got, during the fog, pretty near the rock. She was a Dane from Malaga, laden with lemons and oranges, which the governor immediately purchased and distributed to the garrison.

Few articles ever arrived more seasonably than this cargo of fruit. The scurvy had made dreadful ravages in our hospitals, and more were daily confined: many, however, unwilling to yield to the first attacks, persevered in their duty to its more advanced stages. It was therefore not uncommon, at this period, to see men, who some months before were hale, and equal to any fatigue, supporting themselves to their posts upon crutches, and even with that assistance scarcely able to move along. The most fatal consequences, in short, to the garrison, were to be apprehended from this terrible disorder, when this Dane was happily directed to our relief. The lemons were immediately administered to the sick, who devoured them with the greatest avidity. The salutary effects were almost instantaneous: in a few days, men who had been considered as irrecoverable, left their beds to congratulate their comrades on the prospect of once more becoming useful to their country.

Mr. Cairncross, of the 73rd regiment, a surgeon of great eminence, who was present at this time and the remaining part of the siege, has favoured me with the following information relative to the scurvy, and the mode of using this vegetable acid; which, with his permission, I insert for the benefit of those who may hereafter be under similar circumstances:—

"The scurvy which attacked the garrison of Gibraltar, differed in no respect from that disease usually contracted by sailors in long voyages; and of which the immediate cause seemed to be the subsisting for a length of time upon salted provisions only, without a sufficient quantity of vegetables, or other acescent foods. The circumstance related in the voyage of that celebrated circumnavigator, the late Lord Anson, of consolidated fractures disuniting, and the callosity of the bone being perfectly dissolved, occurred frequently in our hospitals: and old sores and wounds opened anew from the nature of the disorder.

"Various antiscorbutics were used without success, such as acid of vitriol, sour crout, extract of salt, essence of spruce, etc., but the only specific was fresh lemons and oranges, given liberally; or when they could not be procured, the preserved juice in such quantities, from one to four ounces per diem, as the patient could bear. Whilst the lemons were sound, from one to three were administered each day as circumstances directed. The juice given to those in the most malignant state, was sometimes diluted with sugar, wine, or spirits; but the convalescents took it without dilution. Women and children were equally affected; nor were the officers exempted from this alarming distemper. It became almost general at the commencement of the winter season, owing to the cold and moisture; and in the beginning of spring, when vegetables were scarce.

"The juice was preserved by adding to 60 gallons of expressed liquor about five or ten gallons of brandy, which kept it in so wholesome a state, that several casks were opened in good condition at the close of the siege. The old juice was not, however, so speedily efficacious as the fruit, though by persevering longer in its use, it seldom failed."

The same day that the dogger was brought in, a parley came from Don Alvarez, to inform the governor that all intercourse or correspondence betwixt them, in future, was to be conducted by flags of truce in the bay; which regulation continued till the peace was notified in 1783. The 14th, two gun-boats, from the orange-grove, ranged along the front of the garrison, and drove in our fishing-boats; and on the 16th they again ranged off the Mackerel bank, and forced our fishermen to retire. We did not much approve of this conduct, as the boats, by this means, were prevented from bringing any fish to our market. The enemy continued, however, this practice at intervals for some time.

The 21st, the gun-boats fired upon the *Enterprise* and town. Captain Lesley, not choosing to remain the object of their fire, withdrew the frigate into the New Mole; where the navy, under the direction of the engineers, had begun to lay a boom of masts from the New Mole head to the watering-tank. This boom, though it was considered a difficult operation on account of the swell of the sea, was soon completed.

It was not till the night of the 21st that the enemy threw sand in the front of their epaulment, to cover it against our fire-balls and carcasses; and on the 26th they lengthened it to the west about thirty yards, and strengthened it in front with sand. The night of the 28th they erected two large traverses in the rear for magazines. It now presented a very compact appearance, whence we concluded that it was intended for a mortar battery.

Though it was generally imagined in England that the garrison had been amply provided with every article and necessary of life, when Sir George Rodney arrived with the transports and relief from England, our wants, in reality, were far from being supplied.

In the articles of ammunition and salt provisions the garrison had probably as much as they required; but of fresh provisions, wine, spirits, sugar, etc., we began to find a great scarcity; and the price of what remained was consequently much enhanced. The assistance we received formerly from Barbary had now been suspended for several months; the enemy seemed determined to prevent our deriving support from the element that almost surrounded us; and their cruisers were too numerous and vigilant to allow us to expect anything from the west. Thus situated, the garrison turned their eyes on the island of Minorca, whence we had already received some very acceptable supplies, and whose situation, from the great scope of sea room, afforded a flattering probability of the boats being oftener able to escape the enemy's cruisers. The productions of that island are various; and those articles which it did not afford could be purchased from the prizes that were daily carried thither by the privateers. Several garrison boats were therefore sent to Minorca, some of which returned, in the course of October, laden with the wine of that island, sugar (an article become exceedingly scarce), and cheese; with sometimes a few live stock. These articles were all sold by auction, according to a regulation established by the governor: and, though they seldom were purchased by the lower ranks, yet afforded upon the whole a partial relief to the garrison.

The 30th, we observed that the enemy had posted an officer's guard in the Mill battery, which was the name we gave to the new work. Montague's bastion was therefore opened on it in the evening, and, by forming a cross-fire with the batteries on the heights, considerably annoyed them, and much retarded their operations. The same night two soldiers of the 56th and 72nd deserted from Upper All's-well, in the lines:

they were sentries at the same post, and got down by means of a rope; but previous to their descent, had the precaution to wet the priming of their firelocks. We also lost another man by desertion in the course of the month.

The governor, in the beginning of November, made an arrangement of the troops, that in case the enemy bombarded the garrison, each regiment might know the quarters and stations which they were to take up. The 1st of the month was rather unpropitious to us: an English snow* was taken to the east of the rock: at night a soldier of the 56th regiment deserted during a heavy shower of rain; and the following evening two others, of the 12th and 56th, attempted to get off by swimming round the Old Mole head; but a few days afterwards the body of the former was washed ashore near the King's bastion; we therefore concluded his comrade had shared the same fate. In the evening of the 7th a smart cannonade was heard in the Straits: after it had continued for some time a sudden flash appeared, and a report was heard, like the blowing-up of powder. The next morning we observed that the enemy had captured an English vessel, and were at that time towing in a gun-boat, which accounted for the firing and explosion.

Our fire, about the 7th and 8th, became more animated; yet the enemy almost every night made some interior additions. We had observed for several preceding mornings deep ruts in the sand, leading from the principal barrier to the Mill battery; which led us to imagine that they brought at night heavy timber and other materials from their depôts in the lines. The artillery were therefore ordered to direct a *ricochetting* fire of small shells along this track. In the evening of the 10th a large party, followed by a

* A "snow" is a vessel with two masts—a brig.

number of carts and mules, laden with different materials, advanced along the beach from the sally-port of the ditch of Fort St. Philip to the Mill battery. They were perceived by the artillery at Willis's before they had proceeded half-way; and a brisk fire was directed towards their route, which threw the mules into confusion, and obliged some to return, after having left their burthens on the beach. The batteries being reinforced, the firing was continued with great vivacity the whole night. The subsequent evening our artillery were prepared, and immediately on the party's appearing, saluted them with a warm discharge of shot and shells, which seemed to have greater effect than the fire of the preceding evening. This circumstance convinced us of the effect of the *ricochetting* fire from the lower batteries, along the track from the barrier; but the enemy were not so soon driven from the new track as from the former, and continued, notwithstanding our fire (which must have killed and wounded many of them), to bring materials in this exposed manner till a line of communication was finished from the lines.

An English armed polacre, called the *Young Sabine*, arrived on the 12th, after a spirited engagement in the bay with several armed vessels and three gun-boats. The enemy attempted to board her, but were as often repulsed by musketry: at length she beat them off, and anchored under our guns. Her cargo was cheese, hams, and potatoes; the latter of which sold at forty-three dollars per cwt., which according to forty-two pence per dollar (the exchange at that time), are equal to *7l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* sterling. Other articles sold in proportion. In the afternoon a Minorquin settee arrived with the usual cargo; a Spanish gun-boat boarded her on her passage; but the patron showing papers from Majorca to the camp, the Spaniard took no further

notice than keeping her company as a convoy. The Minorquin afterwards seized a convenient opportunity, and slipped in.

In the course of the 14th a Minorquin tartan, bound for the garrison, was taken by the enemy; the crew, however, quitted her, and got ashore. The enemy the same day mounted twelve guns, *en barbet*, in the battery near the guard-house, in the vicinity of Fort St. Philip, which we had supposed was intended for mortars; and about a week afterwards they erected merlons to this work, admitting the embrasures to open upon the garrison. This was called by the garrison the Black battery; and though the most distant work erected against Gibraltar, was found in the subsequent bombardment and siege to be one of the most annoying to the garrison, as its line of fire enfiladed the Town Line wall and main street, which were during the siege the principal communications with the northern part of the fortress.

Two nights following, the gun-boats, which were now increased in number, fired upon the town and shipping. Three, that directed their fire on the former, were stationed off the Old Mole head, and threw several shots into the town. Several men were wounded in the *Enterprise* frigate.

The night of the 17th the enemy threw up two *places d'armes* for musketry on the flanks of the Mill battery; the parapets formed semicircles joining the battery, but afterwards extended in an oblique direction towards the lines. These additions appeared very slight, being only a row of casks or gabions, strengthened with half-chandeliers, and sand in front; covered on the top with sand-bags. The 18th we were visited again by the gun-boats; in returning their cannonade one of the 32-pounders on the King's bastion burst, killed an artilleryman on the spot, and

wounded three others. The man who fired the gun escaped, but was a little scorched with the powder.

A great number of mules were employed on the 22nd, bringing forward casks, chandeliers, and other materials, from the camp. The night of the 23rd the enemy began an approach from the lines to the Mill battery: it consisted of fascines, with sand banked up in front, and commenced near the west angle of the western 14-gun battery, extending about 120 feet towards the advanced guard-house in front of Fort St. Philip; the following night, notwithstanding our fire, they lengthened it about 100 feet, with chandeliers placed in a trench and filled with fascines. The enemy endeavoured to draw our attention from this quarter by another salute from the gun-boats, but in vain. As it was not improbable that the gun-boats were directed in their firing by the lights in the houses along the line-wall, and those looking towards the bay; orders were issued "that no lights in future should appear in any house, barrack or guard-house, towards the bay, after seven o'clock in the evening."

We had hitherto derived occasional assistance from the gardens on the neutral ground, though vast quantities of vegetables had been removed from thence by the enemy. On the 25th, however, they determined to expel our people altogether from the gardens; which in the course of a few days they accomplished, notwithstanding the marksmen under Lieutenant Burleigh were stationed at Willis's, and in the lines, in order to prevent them.

From this period, our resources in respect to vegetables depended entirely upon our own attention to cultivation; which, happily for the garrison, was crowned with tolerable success, especially during the winter months, at which time the produce was increased to be *almost* equal to the consumption. The

supplies from the gardens had indeed begun to fail for some time before, and we soon had little reason to regret their loss. We had, besides, the additional satisfaction of reflecting that the enemy were now cut off from a channel through which it was not improbable they had been informed of every occurrence which happened in the garrison.

The 26th, a Frenchman, one of the crew of the *Young Sabine*, deserted in a boat to the enemy. The night of the 27th, the Danish dogger, which brought us the cargo of lemons, sailed, and the next morning we observed her at anchor off Algeziras. By the 29th, the enemy had finished the second branch of the line of approach, and begun the return for the third towards the western beach. Our fire, as they advanced, became more spirited than ever, and must have been severely felt by the enemy in this exposed duty. The 30th was only distinguished by the arrival of a polacre from Algiers with soap, oil, wine, and candles—a very valuable cargo.

December was introduced with bad weather. The 1st, arrived the *Anglicana* privateer from Smyrna, and, two nights after, she continued her voyage towards England. Lieutenant Gage, of the *Enterprise*, went home passenger with dispatches. The 2nd was particularly stormy, with thunder and lightning, which happily did not continue long, or the works of the garrison might have materially suffered. The rain poured down with such violence from the heights, forcing with it vast quantities of rubbish, stones, and loose earth, that the streets leading from the hill were instantly choked up, and considerable damage was done to the buildings. The enemy, notwithstanding the storm, completed their third branch, and raised the return towards the east. Though the storm did not retard their finishing what they had begun in the

evening, yet the chandeliers were very much sunk in many places, which employed their parties five or six of the following evenings to repair. They also made some alterations in the direction of the second branch, and repaired the batteries in the lines. A brig arrived from Leghorn on the 10th, also three settees from Minorca.

From the 10th, the enemy added every night so considerably to the fourth branch of the approach, that on the 14th at night they joined the extremity of the eastern *place d'armes;* and two nights following, began a fifth branch, which on the 19th was extended to the east flank of the Mill battery. Their operations had not been wholly confined to completing this line of communication; a mortar battery for the sea was erected to the north of Fort St. Barbara, and large and small traverses were raised within both forts to protect their men from our upper batteries.

About noon on the 17th, a cannonade was heard towards the west. A cloud of smoke was observed near Tangier, and we afterwards learned that the Moors were firing a salute on account of the arrival of their emperor. Three hundred and ninety rounds were numbered, and it was repeated the next day. The reader will probably recollect that the garrison of Tangier is to us an object of some curiosity, as having formerly been in the possession of the English. It was ceded by the Portuguese (who had been masters of it for some time) to King Charles II. as part of the dowry of the Princess Catharine of Portugal, and remained under the English dominion till 1684, when, the nation refusing to pay the heavy expense attending its maintenance against the repeated attacks of the Moors, the fortifications were blown up and the garrison ordered to abandon the town. The Moors, after the place was deserted, returned, and it has ever

since continued in their possession. When the English were masters of Tangier, the works on the land side were considered as almost impregnable; and, for the accommodation of shipping, a mole of considerable extent was advanced into the sea.

The present town is built at the bottom of a bay, on the side of a hill overlooking the sea. The Moors have, in some measure, repaired the moles, and endeavoured to restore the city to its former importance; but their efforts go slowly on towards accomplishing that work. Tangier was the residence of a British consul, and, in conjunction with Tetuan, in times of peace, supplies Gibraltar, Cadiz, Lisbon, and other ports on the coasts of Spain and Portugal with fowls, beef, mutton, and fruit. It was about this time the scene of some interesting transactions which will shortly be related.

The enemy, on the 20th, began to erect small traverses in the rear of their approach. On the 21st, the *Speedwell* cutter, Lieutenant Gibson, arrived with government dispatches, after a warm engagement with the enemy off Ceuta, in which the Spaniards attempted to board the cutter, but were repulsed. Lieutenant Gibson was dangerously wounded in the action, which was the only casualty on board. The 23rd, arrived a privateer brig, called the *Hannah*, Captain Venture, last from Lisbon. She brought some excellent supplies; and the day following, two other vessels from Liverpool got in with variety of provisions. The cargoes of these ships were sold by auction for 300 per cent profit.

It was about this period, some letters of a curious tenor were discovered in the possession of the deserter who came in on the 29th of September, in the dress of a peasant, and said he was a sergeant. They were directed to Colonel Nugent, of the Hibernian corps,

in the Spanish service; and the purport of them was—"that Europa was the most eligible place to attack the garrison; acknowledging having received several sums of money, and concluding with expressing his fears lest he should be discovered; therefore desired the colonel would concert some measures for his escape." The man was immediately ordered into close confinement, and remained a prisoner for some time, till, an opportunity offering, he was sent away from the garrison. We were afterwards informed by other deserters that he was sent in as a spy, and liberally rewarded for this hazardous service.

The enemy, having completed their approach to the Mill battery, were employed in dressing the communication and raising fascine traverses in the rear for their greater protection. The 26th and following nights, their carpenters braced with head-rails the chandeliers, which, owing to the late rains, had given way in several places. They were so very noisy in this duty as to induce a brisk fire from our batteries. The 30th, a settee, going from Algeziras to the eastward, was becalmed off Europa, and was boarded and brought in by our boats. Many private letters were found on board, which mentioned the considerable loss the enemy had sustained from our fire. There were also a quantity of clothes, and some money. The next day a settee got in from Minorca.

Our carpenters, in the beginning of January, were very busy in erecting stages and temporary cranes in Camp and Rosia bays, and upon the line wall, above the navy yard; which led us to imagine that the governor had received intelligence by the *Speedwell*, that a convoy might soon be expected. The reason for erecting these machines so far to the south, and at such a distance from the garrison store-houses,

was the apprehension of being annoyed in disembarking the provisions at Ragged Staff, etc., from the enemy's advanced battery, which was now finished, and reported to mount eight 13-inch mortars. These precautions will appear to be very prudent and essential, when the reader, on a further perusal, is informed of the range and effect of the enemy's fire. Some alterations were also made in the works at the New Mole.

The 11th, a Spanish flag of truce, with two Moorish galleys, came over from the Orange Grove, having on board Consul Logie, his lady, and all the British subjects who had been resident in Barbary. We had long complained of a neglect in that quarter, but were now convinced, to our sorrow, that such accusations were premature and ungenerous. The mercenary and avaricious disposition of the emperor had been bribed by the Spanish ministry with a present of 100,000 cobs (about £7,500 sterling), and a promise of the same sum annually, with the redemption of 100 African prisoners, on condition that he should deliver up, for a certain period, the ports of Tangier and Tetuan, and banish from his dominions the consul and subjects of Great Britain. Besides the present of money, and the redemption of 100 prisoners, the emperor had permission to import from Spain grain, which was so remarkably scarce in Barbary, that a famine was apprehended. Without this circumstance to urge as a palliative for entering into a treaty with this avowed and natural enemy, the emperor would, probably, have found it a difficult task to persuade his subjects to desert their old allies.

As this defection of the Moorish monarch was of much importance to the garrison, and was in itself an object not undeserving political remark, I shall subjoin a short relation of some transactions previous

to this event; with an account of the injurious treatment which Mr. Logie and the British subjects experienced before they quitted that country.

I had formerly occasion to mention, that in the early part of 1779, overtures were made by the Spaniards to the Moors, to farm the ports of Tangier, Tetuan, and Larache. Of this General Eliott received immediate information, by a confidential message from the emperor of Morocco. It did not appear that the emperor, in this instance, was actuated by any other impulse than friendship. But since, by refusing to accede to their offers, he might subject his coasts to be insulted, it would of consequence be prudent to arm his cruisers, in order to enable him to act on the defensive: he therefore requested that the English would supply him with naval stores for three new vessels which he had lately built, the value of which, on calculation, did not amount to fifteen hundred pounds.

Such apparent disinterestedness, and so modest a demand, had a proper effect with the governor, who, considering the emperor's alliance of the first consequence to the welfare of the garrison, recommended to government to double the quantity of stores, that they might secure his friendship. Ministers at home, however, did not consider his alliance in the same light with the governor and consul, as Sir George Rodney arrived the January following without stores, or as much as an answer: and the Spaniards (having then declared war) increasing in their proposals, the emperor, after repeated applications to Mr. Logie, to know when he might expect the supplies he had given him to understand were coming from England, at length, by degrees, permitted the Spaniards to capture all British vessels under the protection of his guns. The consul remonstrated against such proceedings,

but in vain: the answer generally received was, that the Spaniards had the emperor's leave; and if they chose to take *him* from his own house, the emperor would not oppose them.

These indignities Mr. Logie was necessitated to overlook. He found the Spanish influence daily gaining ground: he had therefore no alternative, but tacitly to submit to the evils of his situation. He contrived, nevertheless, to acquaint General Eliott with this change in their affairs.

Though there appeared little prospect of doing further service to the garrison of Gibraltar by remaining in Barbary, Mr. Logie still continued to reside at Tangier. The natives were partial to the English, and personally attached to him; and these circumstances he imagined might probably be improved to some advantage.

Thus matters proceeded till the beginning of October, 1780, when a party of the emperor's black troops, which were quartered in the neighbourhood of Tangier, came to Mr. Logie's house, and, being introduced, informed him they had orders from their master to abuse and insult him in the grossest manner; which they immediately put in execution, by spitting in his face, seizing him by the collar, and threatening to stab him with their daggers.

Two days after this transaction, Mr. Logie was ordered to attend the emperor near Sallee. The 13th, he began his journey, guarded by one of the emperor's chamberlains, and a party of horse. They arrived at the camp on the 20th; and the same evening Mr. Logie was ordered into the emperor's presence. After various questions relative to Gibraltar, to which such answers were given as were least likely to please, the emperor addressed himself to his troops, and a great mob that were assembled on

the occasion, saying, "the English were an avaricious, proud, and headstrong people; they always attacked the head: but when people came to beg, they ought to crawl up by the feet. He had, however, deprived them of every benefit they formerly derived from his country;" concluding with ordering the consul to be taken to Sallee. Mr. Logie objected to this mandate, informing the emperor he was ready to attend his camp; but that his sovereign's service did not permit his trifling away his time in visiting towns.

The emperor, after this interview, seemed to relax in his severity to the consul; allowing him to return to Tangier, and consoling him with the promise that the British subjects should not be molested by the Spaniards. The 26th of October, Mr. Logie arrived at Tangier, and found the emperor had not deceived him.

Affairs remained quiet till the 26th of November, when an order came to fit up all the British boats, at the emperor's expense, as he was determined to send the English away satisfied. The consul, however, anticipated his intention, by getting them completed himself by the succeeding evening. The night of the 28th, the Spaniards, informed of the emperor's resolution, sent a party on shore to burn the boats. They were discovered by the guards, and confined; but in consideration of a sum of money, they were the next day liberated. Two days following, the consuls attended to hear the emperor's orders, which were brought by two of his secretaries: they expressed that the emperor had sold the port of Tangier to the king of Spain; in consequence of which, every Christian, except of that nation, was to quit the town and bay; awarding slavery as the punishment of those who remained after the 1st of January, 1781.

Mr. Logie was no sooner acquainted with this

order, than he departed for the emperor's camp, then near Tetuan, in order to represent the impossibility of removing their property on so short a notice. He arrived on the 2nd of December, but could not procure an audience. The 4th, he had intelligence from Tangier, that a second order had compelled the British subjects instantly to remove to Marteen. Mr. Logie made several attempts to have this cruel order reversed, but in vain. He at length procured a friend to mention this delicate point to the emperor, who apparently relented, saying, the English should have permission to remain twenty days to collect their effects; and so far flattered them, as to make them believe they were not to be removed till the British fleet arrived, if it might be expected soon. Mr. Logie was however afterwards convinced, that the emperor at this time was informed his orders had been executed, as the British subjects, amounting to 109, arrived at Marteen, a few miles from Tetuan, the subsequent evening; having been forced to abandon their vessels, houses, and all their property; and compelled to submit to the greatest imposition, for the use of camels and mules, to remove their bedding and wearing-apparel. The value of the effects left behind, Mr. Logie computed to amount to upwards of 60,000*l.*

The heavy expense attending their removal from Tangier, with their stay at Marteen, to their arrival at Gibraltar, Mr. Logie was obliged to disburse; the emperor's order on the 26th of November having so much imposed upon them, that they had laid out what money they were possessed of, in purchasing such articles as they judged would be useful at Gibraltar, imagining they were to be conducted immediately to that garrison.

The emperor removed on the 17th of December to Tangier; whence he usually sent, once or twice every

week, some insulting message to the consul, charging the English with having cheated his ambassador, and being indebted to him several thousand cobs for maintaining the garrison of Gibraltar; with others equally false and abusive.

Mr. Logie, on the 26th of December, was informed that the emperor had given up all the British subjects as prisoners to the Spaniards, and that the succeeding day they were to be removed to Algeziras. Being assured of the truth of this intelligence by one of the emperor's servants, he burnt all his public papers, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. The 28th, the consul embarked with Mrs. Logie (who had attended him through all these troubles), and about 20 more, on board a schooner, without being allowed time to take in any refreshment for their voyage. Others, under similar circumstances, were put on board other vessels. They were guarded by two Spanish cruisers, and for the first night put into Ceuta bay: the next morning they proceeded across the Straits, and about noon anchored off the Orange Grove, but soon after were ordered by Admiral Barcelo to moor at the entrance of the river Palmones. Here the consul was detained till the 11th of January following, by which time an answer arrived from Madrid concerning their future destination.

During this period, no offer was made to supply them with provisions or necessaries, though the Moors were permitted to purchase whatever they wanted. Mr. Logie therefore applied to the French Chargé d'Affaires at Algeziras, who very generously dispatched such articles as he judged would be most acceptable. The 11th, they were conducted to Gibraltar.

The removal, or rather expulsion, of the British subjects from Barbary, was attended with other

unfortunate consequences besides depriving us of provisions: our connection with Portugal became afterwards more precarious; and the governor was cut off from a source of information, by which he was acquainted with the enemy's operations both in camp and at Cadiz. Mr. Logie had always contrived to procure pretty certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, by those Moors who were in his interest; for, the Spaniards allowing them to bring various articles to the army before Gibraltar, and the fleet at Cadiz, and Mr. Logie lending them money to carry on this advantageous trade, they faithfully communicated to him whatever came to their knowledge. The last information Mr. Logie himself was the bearer of to the governor, which was, that the enemy had a great number of fire-ships in the rivers, ready for immediate use.

The 16th of January, a brig came in from Madeira, in four days, with seventy butts of wine. The master had left London with a cargo to exchange at Madeira; but a violent gale of wind had driven him to sea with his cargo incomplete, and half his crew ashore. The same day, the Moorish vessels which brought over Consul Logie returned to Algeziras. Two days following, the *Tartar* privateer arrived with various articles from England: she brought his majesty's manifesto for commencing hostilities against the Dutch.

On the 19th, some experiments were made at Algeziras, from two new Spanish boats, with mortars on board. We had some time before learned that they were preparing such vessels, and that they intended soon to try them against the garrison. Their construction was upon a plan similar to that of the gun-boats: the mortars were fixed in a solid bed of timber, in the centre of the boat; and the only

apparent distinction was that they had long prows, and braced their yards more athwart the boat when they fired.

The 21st, the sergeant commanding one of our out-guards deserted to the enemy: he went towards the Devil's Tower, and once stopped, as if undetermined to proceed or not. He belonged to the 56th regiment, and left a wife and family behind: he had always been esteemed of good character, and was much confided in by his officers. Some pecuniary matters were supposed to be the reason of his deserting. This was the fourth man which we had lost in this way within the course of a month. The 28th, a ship arrived from Leghorn with various articles. In her passage she picked up at sea the long-boat of the *Brilliant* frigate, *Captain Curtis*, which we had been anxiously expecting for some time with dispatches from England. On the 25th and 27th, three of Hardenberg's brigade had deserted; and this day a rope was found near the signal-house, by which we imagined the last two of them had escaped. The 29th and 30th, two or three settees arrived, from aloft, with the produce of Minorca. By them we were informed that the *Brilliant* was got safe into Mahon, having been chased through the straits by the enemy's cruisers in the night.

The enemy's working parties had for several weeks been less numerous: their occupation was principally confined to repairing the damages done by the weather; securing themselves against the effects of our firing, by splinter-proofs and traverses; and collecting depôts of different materials, in various parts of their lines. Their advanced patrols frequently approached very near our out-posts, but seldom waited a second discharge from the sentries. On our side, the engineers were indefatigable in putting everything in the best state of defence. The enemy, it must be

confessed, dealt openly in warning us, so long beforehand, of their intentions; and the governor was exceedingly active and diligent in preparing against whatever circumstances might occur.

The 1st of February we found, behind the rock, the bodies of two deserters, who, in attempting to escape from the garrison, had been dashed to pieces. One of them was a man of the 56th, who was missing the day preceding; the other a sergeant of the 73rd, who had deserted some months before.

The 3rd we observed the enemy's artillery examining the ordnance in their lines. The morning of the 8th, a deserter from a Catalonian regiment came in, and reported that the enemy posted every night a chain of sentries along the skirts of the governor's meadow, which were constantly visited by patrols of cavalry, to keep them alert; and that a captain's guard, besides artillery, mounted in the St. Carlos's battery, as they called the advanced work. He said the camp was well supplied with provisions, etc., but that the men were sickly, and numbers of them deserted.

It was about this period that the officers in Gibraltar presented a memorial, through the commanding officers of the different regiments, to the governor, requesting his Excellency, as he must be convinced of the truth of the contents, to support it with his approbation and interest.

The memorial stated, "That the officers of his Majesty's several regiments of foot, serving under his Excellency's command, had been necessarily exposed to a great variety of inconveniences since the commencement of the blockade, independent of the additional duties which they had been required to discharge: that in particular their pay, which constituted their chief, if not their sole support, had, at different times, suffered a great diminution by the exorbitant rate

of exchange," which they stated to have fluctuated, during a certain period, between 40 and 42 pence per dollar, Gibraltar currency: "that every article of clothing, and still more, those essential to life and health, were so advanced in price, that, with the strictest economy, their pay was totally inadequate to the expenses absolutely indispensable in their present situation: a situation which, they apprehended, precluded them, in a great measure, from participating with the officers at home in the extensive promotions which had of late taken place in the army. They therefore appealed to the paternal feelings, the justice, and the humanity of his Excellency; trusting that through his recommendation and intercession, such assistance and protection might be granted them, as their situation and services deserved:" concluding with a request, "that his Excellency would be pleased to lay their prayer, with all humility on their part, at his Majesty's feet." This memorial was seconded by another of a similar import; but no official answer was received to either.

It must be confessed, that under these circumstances, the situation of the officers was by no means flattering. Whatever obstacles might be in the way of their promotion, they could not help feeling the peculiar hardship of their situation: nor was the inactive and tedious service of a blockaded garrison at all calculated to divert their minds, or to soothe them into an acquiescence with their fortune. They reflected, with no very agreeable sensations, upon the preferment which had been liberally bestowed upon young officers in England; while many subalterns in Gibraltar had ten or twelve years, or upwards, of strict duty and services to plead. Nay, the situation of some of them was peculiarly discouraging; for their friends had repeatedly offered to raise com-

panies to secure their rank; but of such consequence was the safety of Gibraltar esteemed by the Ministry, that orders were sent to forbid any officers leaving the garrison, unless replaced by others from England. It is but justice to them, however, to observe that they in general submitted to the evils of their situation without murmur or repining; and that, preferring their country's good to every partial consideration, they never publicly testified their discontent, except in the two respectful memorials which they presented to their governor.

A privateer, on the 9th of February, arrived from Mahon: she ran through ten cruisers, besides six gun-boats, and was chased by a xebeque, but escaped them all. The 17th, she continued her course for England. Mr. Logie, who carried home dispatches, was a passenger, with several other. The 19th and 20th, arrived two polacre ships from the eastward.

Our supplies from the eastward were now pretty regular, and the boats and vessels in general very successful in their voyages. When the reader considers the variety of difficulties and dangers attending this intercourse, he cannot but admire the perseverance of these foreigners. Their vessels were generally of light burthen, and open, excepting a small scuttle abaft, which, with the other parts of the vessel, was usually filled with part of their cargo. Their passage was seldom performed in less than five days; and sometimes it exceeded ten, and fourteen. Their course was all the way along the enemy's coast: and even when arrived within sight of the port, the danger was greater than before, from the number and vigilance of the enemy's cruisers: the horrors of a Spanish gaol stared them in the face, with the chance of losing probably their all. One circumstance indeed was in their favour; their vessels, in the rigging, resembled

those of the enemy. To the chance of deceiving them they were nevertheless unwilling entirely to trust: it was their custom therefore to make the rock, if possible about sunset; then strike sail, and lie-to, and at night push for the bay. By manœuvring in this manner they frequently arrived safe; and in that case, it must be confessed, they were amply recompensed.

The 26th, the regiments in garrison began to be reviewed: after the review, each regiment marched to its alarm-post, and discharged several rounds of parapet firing. The 28th, a brig under Genoese colours came over from Algeziras: the crew reported, they had injured their mast, and put into Algeziras, for another, but that the Spaniards had ill-treated them; they therefore came over to remedy their loss. To this story the governor did not give implicit credit: a guard of a subaltern and twelve men was sent on board; and after being for some time detained, her cargo, which was fruit, was sold, and the vessel was sent away.

The want of bread in the beginning of March began again to be severely felt: many families had not tasted any for several days. The poor soldiers, and still more the inhabitants, whose finances would not allow them to purchase articles from the Minorquin vessels (the cargoes of which, by the way, were chiefly luxuries), were in intolerable distress. Biscuit-crumbs sold for 10*d.* and 1*s.* per lb. The allowance of the troops was also curtailed, and many Portuguese fishermen left the garrison for want of this article. Towards the conclusion of the month, the invalids of the garrison embarked on board the *Enterprise* frigate, and *St. Fermin* armed ship. The 27th the former, with the *Fortune* sloop, sailed for Minorca; and the *St. Fermin* was to have accompanied them, but in getting

out of the New Mole some accident befel her, by which she was detained. In the course of the month several small craft arrived from Minorca: and we lost two men by desertion.

The beginning of April the Spanish admiral called in all his cruisers, and some movements took place in their disposition, which seemed to indicate the expectation of a superior force. The 2nd we observed their artillery arranging the mortars in the Mill battery, which confirmed us in the conjecture. The succeeding day a British cutter called the *Resolution*, arrived with rum, coals, and sugar, in twenty-nine days, from Plymouth. The master informed us that he left a fleet, which was coming to our relief, at anchor in Torbay. Our joy at this news was greater, if possible, than when we were told of our former relief. The exigencies of the garrison since Admiral Rodney's departure had been as severe, if not more so, than before. Since the soldier, for himself, only received weekly 5¼ lbs. of bread, 13 oz. of salt beef, 18 oz. of pork, both of them almost in a state of putrescence; 2½ oz. of butter, which was little better than rancid congealed oil; 12 oz. of raisins, ½ pint of peas, 1 pint of Spanish beans, 1 pint of wheat, which they ground into flour for puddings; 4 oz. of rice and a ¼ of a pint of oil: what then must be the sufferings of those who had a family of small children to support out of this pittance! or what must be the distress of the inhabitants, who had no assistance from the stores!

The night of the 3rd the *St. Fermin*, with the *Brilliant's* tender, which had been forced by a gale of wind to put into Gibraltar, sailed for Mahon; two xebeques immediately gave chase, and, we afterwards learned, captured the former.

It being observed that the enemy had stationed at

Cabrita Point (though at some distance from the land) a sloop and two light brigs, supposed to be fire-ships, the captains of the privateers in the bay proposed cutting out the sloop, and burning the other vessels. The plan was mentioned to the governor by an officer of the garrison, who had permission to take with him a party of volunteers from the different corps, and join in the expedition. About eleven o'clock on the night of the 4th they proceeded in four boats. When they set out the night was very favourable for the enterprise; but before they reached the vessels the moon suddenly shone forth, and they reluctantly returned. Whether the Spaniards discovered the boats or not, is a matter of doubt; it is probable they did, as the next morning four gun-boats joined them from Algeziras, and the sloop removed farther to the southward.

The enemy, on the 5th, scaled several of their ordnance in the batteries round the bay; two frigates were also placed in front of eight vessels, supposed to be fire-ships: these motions convinced us that the enemy were aware of the fleet which was expected. The evening of the 7th the *Eagle* privateer, of 14 guns, arrived in 14 days from Glasgow: a xebeque, a sloop of 14 guns, a galliot, and 11 gun-boats, engaged her in the bay; but by warm fighting and good seamanship she escaped. The captain informed us that the fleet had sailed, and he was much surprised in not finding them arrived. The following day the Spanish general visited the lines and advanced works. The 9th, only two xebeques and the gun-boats were at Algeziras, the rest of their cruisers having left the station. The 11th a felucca came round Cabrita with oars and with a press of sail: immediately upon entering the bay she made a signal, which was answered at Algeziras by an English

ensign at the main-top-gallant mast-head. Soon after a boat went over to Ceuta, and the xebeque which was stationed at the point was called in with the gun-boats. In the evening many signals were made from the west; and about midnight arrived the *Kite* cutter, Captain Trollop, with the joyful news that the convoy was at the entrance of the Straits, under charge of Admiral Darby, with the British grand fleet.

CHAPTER V

At daybreak, on the 12th of April, the much-expected fleet, under the command of Admiral Darby, was in sight from our signal-house, but was not discernible from below, being obscured by a thick mist in the Gut. As the sun, however, became more powerful, the fog gradually rose, like the curtain of a vast theatre, discovering to the anxious garrison one of the most beautiful and pleasing scenes it is possible to conceive. The convoy, consisting of near a hundred vessels, were in a compact body, led by several men-of-war: their sails just enough filled for steerage, whilst the majority of the line-of-battle ships lay-to under the Barbara shore, having orders not to enter the bay lest the enemy should molest them with their fire-ships. The ecstasies of the inhabitants at this grand and exhilarating sight are not to be described. Their expressions of joy far exceeded their former exultations. But, alas! they little dreamed of the tremendous blow that impended, which was to annihilate their property, and reduce many of them to indigence and beggary.

As the convoy approached the bay, 15 gun-boats advanced from Algeziras, and forming in regular order under the batteries at Cabrita Point, began a smart cannonade on the nearest ships, seconded by the gun and mortar batteries on the land. A line-of-battle

ship and two frigates, however, soon obliged them to a precipitate retreat; and, continuing to pursue them, the crews of several deserted their boats, and took refuge amongst the rocks. Had our ships advanced at this critical juncture and manned their boats, the whole might probably have been destroyed, and the garrison by that means been rid of those disagreeable visitors which afterwards so harassed and annoyed us; but the frigates, having dispersed them, thought no more of the *bum-boats*, as some naval officers contemptuously called them, and left them to be repossessed by the fugitives.

The enemy, on the land side, were far from being idle spectators of this relief. On the first intimation of Admiral Darby's approach, preparations, it is imagined, were made in the lines, and a reinforcement of artillery ordered down from the camp; as at daybreak, before the fleet was well in sight, we remarked that their cannon were elevated, and the sponges and rammers reared against the merlons. These, with other appearances, indicated an intention of opening on the garrison.

Our private letters had, for some time before, mentioned that the Spaniards proposed to bombard Gibraltar, if the garrison was a second time relieved; but the truth of this intelligence was doubted, it being conceived that no beneficial consequences could arise to them from such a cruel proceeding. We, however, overlooked the predominant characteristic of the nation, which, particularly in this instance, seems to have influenced them more than any other motive, and even to have carried them beyond that line of prudence and caution, which in military affairs ought to be strictly attended to.

About three-quarters past 10 o'clock, the van of the convoy came to an anchor off the New Mole and

Rosia Bay; and, as if this were the signal for the enemy to open, a smart fire immediately commenced from Fort St. Philip, followed by all the batteries which bore upon the garrison. The number of ordnance bearing on the place was as follows:—The King's, or Black battery (mounting 14 guns), 12 bearing on the garrison; Fort St. Philip (27 guns), 11 bearing on the garrison; Infanta's battery, of 7 guns; Prince's and Princess's batteries, of 14 guns each; Fort St. Barbara (23 guns), 6 bearing on the garrison; these, with about 50 mortars, distributed along their lines, and in St. Carlos's battery, amount to 114 pieces of artillery; all of heavy metal, being 26-pounders, and 13-inch mortars.

The enemy's cannonade was instantly returned from the garrison; but our artillery had orders to disregard their lines, and notice only the St. Carlos's battery, which consequently soon slackened its fire. The miserable and terrified inhabitants, who just before were congratulating each other on the arrival of the fleet, now changed their exultation to sorrow, and flocked, old and young, men, women, and children, in the greatest confusion, to the southward, leaving their property, unsecured, to the mercy of the soldiers. The shells from the St. Carlos's battery were directed towards the New Mole; the convoy, however, had been warned not to anchor within the range of their fire; the shipping, therefore, were not in the least molested. A settee was sunk near the watering-tank, and numbers of shells fell on the Red Sands, and in the neighbourhood of South Port, which added no little to the alarm of the fugitives from town. The enemy's other batteries were chiefly directed to Willis's, the lines, and particularly the ground upon which the troops were intended to have been encamped. Between 1 and 2 o'clock their firing abated, and in a

short time ceased. Of this favourable cessation the inhabitants availed themselves, to secure such valuable property as could be expeditiously removed; but the heavier articles, which the avaricious and hard-hearted hucksters had kept concealed in their stores, to bring forth in small quantities when the prices suited, were all destroyed in the course of the bombardment.

About 5 o'clock, the batteries of the enemy again opened, and the firing continued, without intermission, the remainder of the day and the succeeding night. It did not, however, interrupt the disembarkation of the supplies. Five hundred men, with a proportion of officers, were ordered for that duty; they were afterwards considerably augmented, and such was the labour and diligence of the garrison, that the stores were landed, with the assistance of the navy, in nine or ten days. Our casualties, on the 12th, were but few; Lieutenant Boag, of the artillery, was wounded, also several non-commissioned officers and privates.

The bombardment was continued the 13th, and several soldiers were killed and wounded in their quarters. In the course of the day, 150 men were ordered to remove ammunition to the magazines on the hill, and an additional number to join the party employed in landing the supplies. The 14th, the gun and mortar boats fired upon the shipping, but were soon obliged to retire. Several barges attended, having officers in them, who seemed to give directions how to point their cannon. Our batteries ceased firing this day, but the enemy's ordnance were kept going with great vivacity. They appeared to have got the exact range of the heights; even the Royal battery did not escape their shells. Ensign Martin of the 39th regiment was slightly wounded with splinters of stones. No arrangement for placing the

troops under shelter was yet known; and the former distribution, given out in November, was totally overthrown by the extensive range of the enemy's fire. Officers, however, whose quarters were damaged, received marquees from the public stores, to encamp at the southward; and the distressed inhabitants were accommodated with tents.

It being remarked that the enemy's fire considerably abated about noon, the governor ordered the town guards to assemble at 12 o'clock; by which regulation less danger was apprehended in relieving the men on duty. The night-pickets were likewise ordered to occupy the casemates under the Grand battery, that they might be at hand to reinforce the northern guards, in case of alarm. The total strength of the pickets, at this period, was 2 captains, 9 subalterns, 9 sergeants, 9 drummers, and 391 rank-and-file. The cause of the cessation in the enemy's fire at noon, arose from a custom, pretty general in Spain, and common, I believe, in most warm climates, that of indulging themselves with a meridian nap. This luxury the Spaniards could not refuse themselves, even in war; and it was invariably attended to during their future operations against Gibraltar.*

Vice-Admiral Darby with the ships of war continued cruising in sight of the rock; the service, however, requiring despatch in landing the supplies, he detached Rear-Admiral Sir John Lockart Ross to superintend that duty in the bay; and the garrison fatigue party was augmented to upwards of a thousand

* This will not appear so extraordinary when the reader is informed that, during the insurrection of Madrid, in 1766, the insurgents, as mentioned by Major Dalrymple, in his "Travels Through Spain," regularly indulged themselves with their *siesta*, and then returned to their different places of rendezvous. Their antagonists did the same; so that there seemed to be a sleepy convention, for a few hours, every day, between the government and the mob.

men, besides officers. The evening of the 14th the enemy's shells were very profusely distributed; some that did not burst we examined, and on drawing the fuse, found inflammable matter mixed with the powder: these combustibles set fire to a wine-house in the green-market, near the Spanish church, and before the fire could be extinguished, four or five houses were burnt to the ground. Detachments from the regiments and guards in town were immediately ordered to quench the flames; but the enemy's cannonade became so brisk, that great confusion ensued. From this moment we may date the commencement of the irregularities into which, through resentment and intoxication, the soldiers were betrayed. Some died of immediate intoxication, and several were with difficulty recovered, by oils and tobacco-water, from a dangerous state of ebriety.

Though riot and violence are most contrary to that spirit of regular discipline which should always prevail in military affairs, something may yet be urged in extenuation of the conduct of the troops, which has been so much the subject of reprehension amongst the people interested. The extreme distress to which the soldiers had been reduced by the mercenary conduct of the hucksters and liquor-dealers, in hoarding, or rather concealing their stocks, to enhance the price of what was exposed for sale, raised amongst the troops (when they discovered the great quantities of various articles in the private stores) a spirit of revenge. The first and second days they conducted themselves with great propriety; but on the eve of the third day, their discipline was overpowered by their inebriation, and from that instant, regardless of punishment, or the entreaties of their officers, they were guilty of many and great excesses. The enemy's shells soon forced open the secret recesses of the

merchants, and the soldiers instantly availed themselves of the opportunity to seize upon the liquors, which they conveyed to haunts of their own. Here, in parties, they barricaded their quarters against all opposers, and, insensible of their danger, regaled themselves with the spoils. Several skirmishes occurred amongst them, which, if not seasonably put a stop to by the interference of officers, might have ended in serious consequences.

It did not appear through all their intemperance that these irregularities arose from any cause so much as a spirit of revenge against the merchants. A great quantity of liquor, etc., was wantonly destroyed; and, in some cases, incredible profusion prevailed. Among other instances of caprice and extravagance, I recollect seeing a party of soldiers roast a pig by a fire made of cinnamon. The offenders were at first confined and reprimanded, which the governor judged would have a greater effect than punishment; but on their relapsing a second time into the like disorders, he was convinced his lenity was disregarded, and he was therefore compelled to use more rigorous measures.

I have thought proper to digress a little upon this subject, not in justification of the soldiers, but to acquaint the world with the truth, as some who have related the occurrences of this period to their friends, have omitted doing the garrison the justice to annex the account of their former hardships. Besides, had the troops been in the highest degree abstemious, the enemy's fire would soon have destroyed what was only the sooner consumed by their extravagance; for the inhabitants were too much alarmed for the safety of their own persons, to attend to the security of their effects.

I forgot to mention in its place that, previous

to the bombardment, orders had been given for removing the sick in town, when the firing commenced: on the 13th, therefore, the men were conveyed to the naval hospital at the southward.

The 15th the bombardment was continued with greater vivacity. Not content with discharging their ordnance regularly, they saluted us almost every instant with a volley of eight or ten cannon, besides mortars. Our batteries remained silent, and the guns at Willis's were drawn behind the merlons, to secure them against the enemy's shot. It was observed they directed a great number of shells towards the Working parade, and about the Victualling Office. In the morning the gun-boats again attacked the ships of war and transports, and the navy returned a smart fire. About noon, Lieutenant Budworth of the 72nd regiment, and Surgeon Chesholme of the 56th, were wounded by a splinter of a shell at the door of a northern casemate in the King's bastion. The former was dangerously scalped, and the latter had one foot taken off, and the other leg broken, besides a wound in the knee. The troops in town, in the afternoon began to encamp at the southward, and to be regularly distributed amongst the casemates in town. The following was the arrangement. To the Hanoverians were allotted the bomb-proofs under the grand battery, occupied by the pickets, which in consequence removed to Land Port gateway and Prince of Hesse's casemate. The 12th, 39th, and 56th regiments were ordered to possess Montague's casemate with the Galley house and Water Port gateway: those who could not be accommodated in these quarters, encamped above the South barracks and Navy hospital, on the declivity of the hill: the 72nd regiment totally withdrew into the King's bastion, and the 58th and 73rd regiments remained in the

South barracks: the artillery and engineers were disposed of on the same plan. Several days elapsed before the troops were properly settled. The ground on which they encamped was very steep and rugged: it was necessary therefore to level it into terraces, for the men to pitch their tents. The regimental stores were also to be removed, and other duties of a similar nature executed, before the troops could be considered as properly established.

The gun-boats attacked the shipping on the 16th, and endeavoured to molest the parties employed in landing the provisions; but a line-of-battle ship and two frigates soon obliged them to retire. In the course of the day the women and children who had taken refuge with their husbands and friends in the casemates in town, were ordered to remove and encamp at the southward. Though this order, from motives of humanity, was not strictly enforced, yet it greatly relieved the men, and in a measure removed our apprehensions of some infectious disorder being generated from their crowded and confined situation in the bomb-proof casemates. The officers were under the necessity of participating with the men in these unpleasant accommodations: their presence, however, produced this beneficial consequence, that they often prevented the men from indulging in those excesses, into which otherwise they undoubtedly would have entered. The same day the Queen's lines, Main, New Mole, and Rosia guards, were ordered to be captain's guards.

The enemy on the 17th first reached the rock gun with shot from the 7-gun battery. Colonels Ross, Green, and Picton were appointed the same day to rank as brigadiers; and Captain Wilson of the 72nd regiment, Lieutenant Holloway of the engineers, and Captain Picton of the 12th regiment,

were appointed their brigade-majors. Two field-officers, with a captain from each regiment, and one subaltern for every fifty men, were ordered also to superintend the disembarkation of provisions. In the afternoon the shells of the besiegers set fire to the stores in the Spanish church. Parties were instantly detached from the main guard, 72nd regiment, and other corps in town, to remove the provisions. The lieutenant-governor with his aides-de-camp was present, encouraging the men to perform this duty with expedition. The enemy's fire at this time was remarkably spirited; nevertheless, the greater part was saved by the activity of the parties. Many casks of flour were brought into the King's bastion, and piled as temporary traverses before the doors of the southern casemates, in which several persons had been killed and wounded in bed. These traverses, however, did not continue long; for the men, when the spoils in the town became scarce, considered those barrels which the enemy's shot had pierced as lawful prizes. The contents were soon scooped out and fried into pancakes, a dish which they were very expert in cooking; and the upper casks, wanting support from below, gave way, and the whole came to the ground. Though the flour by this means was in a great measure lost to government, yet the number of accidents which these traverses prevented, greatly overbalanced the value of the article. Traverses of another nature were afterwards erected in their room.

The gun-boats, on the 18th, fired again upon the shipping and men-of-war cruising in the bay. The *Minerva* and *Monsieur* frigates had several men dangerously wounded; and the *Nonsuch* had her mast crippled. The navy, after this attack, no longer considered these boats in the same despicable light as on their first entrance into the bay. In the course

of the day a shell fell through the arch of the Galley house, where part of the 39th and some of the 12th regiments were quartered; it killed two and wounded four privates. In consequence of this unexpected casualty the troops removed thence, and joined their regiments at the southward.

Our batteries, especially at Willis's, by this time exhibited a very disorderly and ruinous appearance. The ordnance had been withdrawn when the artillery ceased to fire: but the merlons were now considerably damaged, and some of the cannon dismounted and injured. The lines were also nearly choked up with loose stones and rubbish, brought down by the shot from the rock above; the traverses along the line wall were greatly injured; and the town, particularly at the northward, approached every day toward complete demolition. The engineers, however, were ordered to prepare materials for repairing the Queen's battery at Willis's; and parties of workmen were employed in carrying up from below sandbags and other requisites for that purpose. New traverses were likewise begun along the different communications, higher, stronger, and at shorter distances than the old ones.

The gun-boats renewed their attack, the 19th, on he shipping, but were soon obliged to retreat. In he course of the day the terrace storehouse was set on fire. The camp-equipage of the garrison being in an adjacent house, parties from the regiments in town were ordered to remove them with the greatest expedition. The men generally received some gratuity from the governor for these hazardous duties. The following day, the supplies being landed, the fleet in the evening prepared to return to the westward. Before they weighed, their good friends the gun-boats gave them a parting salute, and did some damage. By six

o'clock the whole were under way. Many merchantmen, freighted with merchandise and articles much wanted in the garrison, returned with their cargoes; the merchants refusing to take them on account of the bombardment. Great numbers of the inhabitants and officers' families likewise embraced this opportunity of leaving the garrison.

The impatience of the British admiral to disembark the supplies, that he might not lose the opportunity of the easterly wind to return from the Mediterranean, had prevented the garrison from unloading the colliers that had arrived with the fleet: these ships were therefore scuttled in the New Mole, to be discharged at leisure. The ordnance transports were also ordered within the boom for the same purpose. In the course of the 20th, the Victualling Office was on fire for a short time; and at night the town was on fire in four different places; but the public stores being safe, no attempts were made to extinguish the flames.

The enemy's cannonade and bombardment continued still very brisk. The 21st, forty-two rounds were numbered in two minutes, between six and eight o'clock. The garrison flag-staff on the Grand battery was so much injured by their fire, that the upper part was obliged to be cut off; and the colours, or rather the glorious remains, were *nailed* to the stump. The evening of the 22nd, the combustible matter in their shells setting fire to some fascines at Water Port, Lieutenant Cunningham, of the 39th regiment, was wounded in extinguishing them. The fate of this young gentleman may be considered as extraordinary. On examining the wound, which was in the head, it appeared so trifling that the surgeon judged his skull unhurt; and his seeming recovery confirmed the opinion. Something more than a fortnight elapsed when he complained of a pain in his head: he immediately took

to his bed, and in a short time expired. After his decease a considerable counter-fracture was discovered, with a quantity of extravasated blood encircling the brain.

The gun and mortar boats, on the 23rd, fired upon our parties ranging the provisions at the southward: 260 shot and 40 shells were discharged, several of which fell about the camp and powder-magazines. The wife of a soldier of the 58th regiment was killed behind the South barracks, and several men wounded. The bombardment from the lines was now in some degree abated, in consequence of their batteries being shaken and injured by their own constant cannonade. We observed during this day a number of mules, with carts, bringing materials to the lines to repair them. Our artillery at night annoyed them with a few rounds from the batteries above Willis's.

The 24th, a shell fell at the door of a casemate, under the south flank of the King's bastion, and wounded four men within the bomb-proof. This casemate had been appropriated as a powder-magazine for the bastion, and the powder had only been removed to the opposite casemate a few days previous to this accident. In the afternoon a soldier of the 12th regiment deserted from Land Port guard, in consequence of which the town guards were ordered to assemble the subsequent day at 2 o'clock P.M. The enemy, however, not increasing their fire, as was expected, the guards afterwards mounted at the usual time.

The garrison orders of the 26th expressed, that any soldier, convicted of being drunk or asleep upon his post, or found marauding, should be *immediately* executed. These measures, rigorous as they may appear, were become absolutely necessary, and, in reality, had been too long deferred. The soldiers were now arrived at so high a pitch of licentiousness, that no

respect was paid to their officers, and scarcely obedience to them even when on duty. Such behaviour, if not curbed in time, too commonly induces very serious consequences. At the same time that this order was issued, the regiments quartered at the southward were commanded, in case of alarm, to assemble in two lines on the Red Sands, the British in front, and the Hanoverian brigade in the rear. The troops in town had their stations likewise allotted them.

In the afternoon of the 27th, a convoy of 20 victuallers, under charge of 4 frigates and the *Fortune* sloop, arrived in 13 days from Minorca. It now appeared that the governor did not entirely depend on receiving succours from England, but thought it prudent to obtain supplies from other quarters, lest any accident should prevent the British fleet arriving in time to his relief. Thus determined to provide against fortuitous events, he had secretly ordered provisions to be purchased from the prizes taken in the Mediterranean, and carried into Port Mahon, and shipped on board vessels that were hired for that purpose. Captain Curtis, of the *Brilliant* frigate, had the charge of this valuable convoy; and the success attending the enterprise demonstrates with what secrecy it had been conducted. They were ignorant of Admiral Darby having been in the Mediterranean, and were agreeably surprised to find from the enemy no opposition to their entrance.

The provisions thrown in by the British admiral were not yet stored; nor had they any further protection against the weather than a covering of canvas, formed from the sails of the colliers that were run ashore in the New Mole. Under these unavoidable circumstances, it was peculiarly unfortunate that the rains at this period should be unusually heavy, and of long continuance. The troops also were very material

sufferers from this inclemency of the weather. The rain, that poured down in torrents from the face of the hill, soon broke down the loose banks of earth raised to cover their tents, which, being pitched on the declivity of the hill, were swept away by the force of the stream; and thus the fatigued soldier, who scarcely was one night out of three in bed, was frequently exposed at midnight to a deluge of rain. These misfortunes, however, taught them to provide against such future accidents; and in a few months, after some labour and attention, their quarters were more comfortable and secure.

The remainder of the month was remarkable for excessive rains, attended with most dreadful thunder and lightning, which, during the night, in addition to the fire from the enemy, had an awful and tremendous effect. The bombardment continued warm and well supported; but the enemy did not appear to have any particular object. In the early part of the day they in general fired pretty smartly: about noon their batteries slackened, and from twelve till two o'clock almost totally ceased: after two they recommenced, and persevered till the succeeding meridian. During the night they directed their fire principally to the heights and lines, as probably they had information, by the last deserter, that we employed, every night, parties to clear and repair those works.

The morning of the 30th we discovered the gun and mortar boats approaching the garrison: they took their stations off the town to avoid the fire from the frigates, and varied very little from their former attacks. Five shot landed on Windmill Hill, which was esteemed a remarkably long range. We returned a brisk and well-directed fire; and they retired. It was remarked that the land batteries were in a measure silent during their stay. In the evening a Hanoverian, with some

others, was detected marauding in a store: the party was given in charge to a sentry, but the former attempted to escape: the sentry called to him to stop, otherwise he would fire; and on his not complying with the order, the sentry shot him dead on the spot. A general return of casualties, etc., for every month, is inserted at the conclusion.

Early on the 2nd of May, two settees arrived from Algiers, laden with sheep, wine, and brandy. The enemy now seemed to have given up the idea of blockading us to a surrender. No cruisers had been observed out since the departure of Admiral Darby. In the evening a shell from the garrison fell upon the eastern traverse, in the St. Carlos's battery, under which was their magazine, and, communicating with the powder, blew it up. The explosion was not loud; but the damage was so very considerable that the ordnance were silent for several days. Our artillery annoyed the enemy greatly during their confusion, though they kept up a brisk discharge from the lines, at the rate of 250 rounds an hour. The day following, Lieutenant Willington, of the artillery, was wounded at Willis's. The 5th, a soldier of the 58th regiment was executed on the grand parade, at the door of the store where he was detected plundering. His body hung till sunset, as an example to other offenders.

The enemy's cannonade and bombardment continued to be wide and scattered, apparently having no particular object. Shells were yet lavishly expended; and, what was very singular, many of those which fell blind, contained, on examination, a vast quantity of sand mixed with the powder. We could not otherwise account for this unusual circumstance, than by supposing the powder was stolen by their people in the laboratories. Other shells still scattered, on their explosion, combustible matter, which, setting

fire to the loose timber and wood dispersed amongst the ruins of the town, greatly endangered the king's stores and magazines. This induced the governor, on the 6th, to publish a placard, signifying to the inhabitants that such materials of this nature as were not removed out of the reach of the enemy's fire, would be converted to the king's use. The morning of the 7th, the gun and mortar boats fired upon the town and the New Mole: they stayed about an hour, and then retired. We returned upwards of 400 rounds with great vivacity, which greatly displeased the governor: "There would be no end," he said, "of expending ammunition if we fired every time they came, and while they were at so great a distance: in future," he ordered, "no notice to be taken of the gun-boats, unless they approached within the distance of grape." The 8th, Captain Fowlis, of the 73rd, was wounded in the lines.

The enemy's fire was now more regular: we no longer experienced the sudden fits that had induced them to discharge a whole battery at a volley: it amounted about this time, upon an average, to 1,500 rounds in the twenty-four hours. The 9th, Lieutenant Lowe, of the 12th regiment, a superintendent of the working-parties, lost his leg by a shot, on the slope of the hill under the castle. He saw the shot before the fatal effect, but was fascinated to the spot. This sudden arrest of the faculties was not uncommon; several instances occurred to my own observation, where men totally free have had their senses so engaged by a shell in its descent, that, though sensible of their danger, even so far as to cry for assistance, they have been immediately fixed to the place. But what is more remarkable, these men have so instantaneously recovered themselves on its fall to the ground, as to remove to a place of safety before

the shell burst. The gun and mortar boats repeated their visit on the 11th, but fired from so respectful a distance that scarcely a shot came ashore. Our batteries were manned; nevertheless, not a gun was returned. Lieutenant Thornton, of the 12th regiment, was wounded the same day with splinters of stones, thrown up by a shot which grazed betwixt his legs.

The buildings in town at this time exhibited a most dreadful picture of the effects of so animated a bombardment. Scarcely a house, north of the Grand Parade, was tenantable; all of them were deserted. Some few, near South Port, continued to be inhabited by soldiers' families; but in general the floors and roofs were destroyed, and the walls only were left standing. The governor and lieutenant-governor, however, maintained their quarters, having parties constantly employed in repairing the damage. Both had bomb-proofs; and the former afterwards had a large tent pitched on a rising situation south of the Red Sands, where, with his suite, he generally remained during the day, returning at night to town; but the lieutenant-governor constantly resided in town, having accommodations in the King's bastion.

The evening of the 12th, the gun and mortar boats fired upon the garrison from off the Old Mole, seconded by a very warm fire from their land batteries. Several shells from the former ranged as high as the Signal House, and some fell over the rock. They discharged 180 shot and 46 shells, and then retired, throwing up the usual signal of a rocket from each boat. Though our batteries were manned, the garrison remained silent. About the 13th, and for a few succeeding days, the enemy's shells were directed for an unusual long range. One fell on the forecastle of a collier in the New Mole, and pierced both decks, but did not burst. Two fell amongst the provisions on the New Mole

parade, and another in the middle yard of the South barracks; a splinter of the latter flew to the Navy hospital. The 14th, a shell fell into the small armoury, near South Port, but fortunately did little injury. The 17th, the Jews' synagogue and other buildings were burnt down. The following day, a shell from our upper batteries blew up the guard-room in the *place d'armes* of Fort Barbara. Our engineers were at this time employed every night in clearing the works, filling up shell-holes, and repairing the glacis and traverses at Water Port. The enemy's fire at this period seldom exceeded 1,000 rounds in the course of twenty-four hours: their batteries were much shaken with the firing, and parties were constantly bringing supplies of ammunition to the lines, and different materials for the repair of their works.

An attempt was made by the navy, on the 19th, to cut off a polacre becalmed near Europa Point; but, a breeze springing up, she escaped. The gun-boats soon after came out, apparently with an intention of avenging this affront; but, the wind freshening, they returned. The cannonade from the enemy was now principally directed at our upper batteries. The rock gun, mounted on the summit of the northern front, was become as warm, if not warmer, than any other battery; and scarcely a day passed without some casualties at that post. The gun and mortar boats, early in the morning of the 20th, repeated their attack on the garrison and shipping. They were arranged in two divisions, those to the northward directing their fire towards the King's bastion and South Port, but most of their shells broke on the face of the rock; whilst the southward division annoyed the shipping and camp. Their usual signal for retiring was made about a quarter past three o'clock. On this occasion we returned a few shots from the town batteries.

At the commencement of the bombardment, the out-guards of Bayside and Lower Forbes's had been withdrawn from those barriers, and an officer's guard stationed every night in the Flêche, a work erected near the Inundation at the foot of Land Port glacis. On the morning of the 21st, the sentries at this post observed a man advancing, with great circumspection, along the causeway: instead of answering when challenged, he immediately dropped. Lieutenant Wetham, of the 58th regiment, the officer on duty, suspecting he came to reconnoitre, instantly, with the sergeant, went out to seize him; but the man rising, he pursued, and was within a very short distance of securing him, when he fell into a shell-hole near Bayside, and the man escaped. It was imagined that curiosity had prompted him to make trial of the alertness of our sentries. His hat, which fell off in his retreat, his firelock with bayonet, and pouch filled with 29 rounds of ammunition, were hung on the palisades of the barrier, and were afterwards brought in.

Early on the morning of the 22nd, a splinter of a shell, which fell and burst on the Church battery, ranged upwards of 200 yards, and, cutting the leaden apron of the *morning-gun* on the South bastion, fired it off. This singular circumstance, happening some hours before daybreak, not a little surprised those who heard the report, and were ignorant of the cause. Our fire was now increased to about 150 rounds in the 24 hours, the enemy's parties being engaged in repairing the lines of approach. Their cannonade, on the contrary, was reduced, upon an average, to 650 rounds.

The night of the 23rd, the gun and mortar boats renewed their attack upon the camp, which, in its consequences, was more dreadful than any we had hitherto experienced. The silence observed by the garrison during their preceding visits emboldened

them, on this occasion, to advance so near that we could distinctly hear their officers give orders to the men, who frequently cried out to us, in Spanish, to "take care." During the first and second rounds, the shells fell over Windmill Hill into the sea; but this mistake they soon rectified, and the attack became excessively smart. Two shells fell within the hospital wall, and a shot passed through the roof of one of the pavilions. A shell fell in a house in Hardy Town, and killed Mr. Israel, a very respectable Jew, with Mrs. Tourale, a female relation, and his clerk. Another, from the St. Carlos's battery, fell into a house near Southshed, in which were fifteen or sixteen persons: the shell burst, but all escaped, except a child whose mother had experienced a similar fate some time before. A soldier of the 72nd regiment was killed in his bed by a shot; and a Jew butcher was equally unfortunate. In all, seven were killed, and twelve or thirteen wounded. The silence of the garrison, when the destructive effects of this attack were publicly known, caused great secret discontent amongst the soldiers; and such representations were made to the governor, that he ordered the artillery to return their fire when they repeated their visit.

The evening of the 27th the engineers, with a strong party, repaired the Queen's battery (Willis's). The new merlons were raised with sand-bags on the base of the old ones, and the whole was completed before morning gun-fire. The following day, a squadron of Russian men-of-war passed through the Straits to the west. Whilst they remained in sight, the enemy increased their fire upon the garrison. The same day arrived the *General Murray* privateer and a polacre from Minorca, with wine, brandy, lemons, and salt; and in the evening, the *Enterprise* frigate, with 17 ordnance-ships and transports, sailed

for England. The enemy discovered them before they quitted the bay, and repeated their signals towards Cadiz. The garrison flag-staff, on the Grand battery, was now so mutilated, and the flag so much torn by the enemy's shot, that it became necessary to erect a new one, which was done the night of the 28th; and it served to engage the attention of the enemy in the succeeding day's firing.

The morning of the 29th, two British frigates, the *Flora* and *Crescent*, which had conveyed the Minorca ordnance-ships to Mahon, appeared from the east. Captain Peere Williams, in the former, stood towards the bay; and being informed by Captain Curtis that the *Enterprise* had sailed the preceding evening, put about and followed his consort, the *Crescent*, which was then chasing two vessels, apparently Dutchmen, under the Barbary shore; and soon after they disappeared, we heard a cannonade to the west, which most likely proceeded from the ensuing engagement, as we afterwards learned that the ships chased were Dutch frigates.* At noon the same day, two artificers were executed at the White Convent in Irish Town for marauding; and the following day, one of the 58th suffered for the same offence. The 31st, in the evening, a ship under Ragusan colours, attempting to get round Europa Point to proceed to Algeziras, was driven under our guns, and obliged to come in. She was laden with wheat and barley, bound from Barcelona to Cadiz; and her cargo was condemned as a lawful prize.

The enemy's bombardment was considerably abated

* Captain Williams, in this action, took his opponent; but the *Crescent*, from some unfortunate accidents, was compelled to surrender to her adversary. The *Crescent* was, however, retaken by the *Flora*; but being greatly damaged, both she and the *Flora's* prize afterwards fell a prey to some French cruisers.

towards the close of the month. Their objects for some time were the upper batteries, and particularly the Royal battery, whence they were greatly incommoded. They often attempted to reach Land Port and the lines with heavy grape from the advanced mortars, but it seldom ranged farther than the Inundation. Our engineers, notwithstanding their fire, continued making such repairs as the enemy's cannonade rendered necessary.

About 2 o'clock, on the morning of the 1st of June, the gun and mortar boats saluted us as usual, and wounded three or four men: they were in three divisions. We returned the fire from different batteries between King's bastion and Buena Vista. During this attack an incident happened which I will beg leave to insert. A soldier, rambling about the town, accidentally found, in the ruins of a house, several watches and other articles of value, of which he immediately made prize; but how to secrete them afterwards was a subject that required the utmost reach of his invention. He was sensible he could not secure them in his quarters, as every soldier of his regiment was examined on his return to his bomb-proof from duty. He resolved, therefore, on a singular expedient. Taking out the wad which served as a tompion to a gun on the King's bastion, he lodged his prize, which was tied in his handkerchief, as far as he could reach, within the gun, and put the wad in its former place. In times of peace he could not have devised a better repository; but, unfortunately, the gun-boats coming the same evening (whilst he was fast asleep in his casemate, not apprehending any danger to his secreted treasure), this richly loaded gun was one of the first that was discharged at the enemy, and the foundation of his future greatness was dispersed in an instant.

The enemy's cannonade, in the beginning of June, decreased to about 500 rounds in the 24 hours; the King's or Black battery (as it was called by the garrison), with the two 14-gun batteries in their lines, were now silent.

The morning of the 3rd the gun-boats repeated their visit about the same time as before. In this attack 2 sergeants, of the 12th and 58th regiments, were killed, and 2 privates wounded: many shells fell among the tents of the different regiments, and two shot in the hospital yard. A corporal, going with the relief at Land Port, had the muzzle of his firelock closed, and the barrel twisted like a French horn, by a shell, without injury to his person. We returned the fire from the town batteries, hoping by that means to direct their attention from our camp. The 4th, the governor commemorated the anniversary of his Majesty's birthday, by a salute at noon of 23 cannon, and 43 mortars, being the number of ordnance that bore on the St. Carlos's battery. The fire began at the rock mortar, seconded by the Old Mole, and so on from right to left till the whole were discharged: the enemy, indulging themselves, as usual, with a *siesta*, did not immediately return our fire; but in the early part of the day they had made the town pretty warm, and fired twice or thrice through the royal standard.

In the course of the 4th, a tartan was taken coming in from the east: the crew, however, escaped to the garrison in their boat. A Spanish squadron of 2 line-of-battle ships, 3 xebeques, and 2 bomb-ketches, also arrived the same day at Algeziras, from aloft. With this reinforcement, their naval force before Gibraltar amounted to 2 ships of the line, 5 xebeques, 2 ketches, several half-galleys and armed vessels, with 15 or 16 gun and mortar boats. These latter were

become so active that we could never promise ourselves a night's repose without being disturbed by a cannonade; and their attacks were more vexatious from the impossibility of being able to retaliate, because they presented to us so small an object. Whenever the alarm was given of their approach, which was generally a little after midnight, the southern part of the rock was in immediate commotion. Their effects had been found so destructive, that all were upon the look-out: the troops were ordered from their tents, to places where they were covered from the shot; but the shells were directed into the most sequestered recesses. Such was the terror of the miserable inhabitants, that many of them fled nearly naked to the remote parts of the rock; and even here they could scarcely deem themselves secure: in short, no scene could be more deplorable than that of their distress on these occasions.

The enemy's bombardment from the land was still continued with little variation: they appeared, indeed, to have no other object than the expenditure of ammunition. In their camp, large parties were constantly bringing brushwood for fascines from the country; and others were employed in disembarking stores from small vessels which were daily arriving from all quarters.

The 9th, we were alarmed with the blowing-up of one of the enemy's magazines, situated at a small distance from the Catalonian camp to the west of the Queen of Spain's Chair. The different explosions that succeeded the first resembled a continual roll of fire like repeated volleys of musketry; from which circumstance we conjectured that it was their repository for live shells and fixed ammunition. Their drums immediately beat to arms; and the whole army, consisting of 13 battalions besides cavalry,

assembled in front of the camp. Parties were instantly detached; but the splinters of the shells kept them for some time at a considerable distance. The shells, however, at length ceased to displode: they advanced, and removed powder, etc., from a neighbouring magazine to a place southward of the fire; where, meeting afterwards in great numbers, our artillery endeavoured to reach them with a large shell from Willis's; but the distance was beyond the range of a sea-mortar. From the long continuance and successive loud reports it was thought they must have sustained great loss, not only of ammunition, but of men, as the splinters were seen, with glasses, to range much farther than the spot where the detachment first assembled; and remarkable economy was afterwards observed in the article of shells.

The following day, a line-of-battle ship, proceeding from Point Mala to the eastward, was fired upon from the garrison, and obliged to put about and anchor at Algeziras. A flag of truce came the day after to the New Mole, to know the cause of our firing upon her, being a Neapolitan man-of-war. The governor answered, that the first shot was to bring her to; which she not obeying, every succeeding one was fired to sink her. The night of the 11th, the gun and mortar boats, according to custom, bombarded the camp, killed a child, and wounded a woman. They retired much sooner than usual; which we attributed to their having received some damage, as our grape was heard to strike them. We returned 96 rounds of various kinds. Their land batteries, during the attack, directed their fire principally towards the King's bastion, and along the line-wall in town, whence, they observed, we for some time past generally fired when they came over. The 14th being the anniversary of Corpus Christi, the festival was noticed by the enemy's shipping with the

usual flags of decoration, and the customary salutes: repeated volleys were likewise discharged from the lines; which, being unexpected on our side, killed and wounded several.

Though their bombardment in general, at this period, scarcely exceeded 450 rounds in twenty-four hours, yet the batteries at Willis's, notwithstanding the recent repairs, were again greatly damaged. The enemy's shot, though fired at so great a distance, frequently pierced seven solid feet of sand-bag work. To obviate this, strong wooden frames, called *caissons*, were constructed of the same dimensions as the merlons; which, when well rammed with clay, and covered in front and on the top with junk cut in lengths for the purpose, were expected to resist better than the temporary repairs that had been done during the severity of the enemy's fire. The enemy also adopted the same mode in capping the merlons of Fort St. Barbara.

A flag of truce, on the 15th, informed us that two ships had been captured leaving the garrison, and that the prisoners were ready to be sent in. The *Fortune* sloop, in consequence, the next day brought over 141 English and Jews, men, women, and children. It was remarked that the enemy the preceding day continued their bombardment during the flag of truce; but a strict cessation was observed this day, owing, as we imagined, to some representations. We observed, on the 20th, a new camp of 112 tents in the rear of Barcelo's battery, north of Algeziras. The day following, Montague's bastion was opened on the enemy, as parties were repairing the St. Carlos's battery.

The bombardment now decreased daily. The fire of the enemy was chiefly directed to our upper batteries, for the town was almost a heap of ruins: they sometimes threw a long-ranger; but these shells

seldom did any injury. The night of the 24th, the gun-boats fired upon the camp, but at such a distance, that little damage was received, though they expended 400 shot and 70 shells. We returned 88 rounds, principally small shells, whose fuses were so accurately cut, as to break just over the boats. The 27th, we observed another encampment (capable of quartering two battalions) at the tower between the river Palmones and Algeziras. Many were of opinion that this camp, with that at Barcelo's battery, was occupied by militia. The gun and mortar boats again bombarded our camp about midnight for two hours: they then made their usual signal, and as we imagined, were gone back; but soon after, they returned, and, recommencing a brisker fire than before, killed and wounded 12 or 14, the greatest number of which were of the 39th regiment. This was the most important loss which our troops had yet experienced from the gun-boats; but we concluded ourselves in some degree fortunate in not suffering more considerably; as most of the regiments, imagining the bombardment over for the night, were in bed when they returned.

The disagreeable and frequent repetition of these attacks prompted the governor to adopt, if possible, some expedients to annoy the enemy's camp in return. The distance was conceived to be within the range of shells from the Old Mole head: accordingly a 13-inch sea-mortar was removed to the extremity; and six cannon, five 32-pounders and one 18-pounder, were at the same time sunk in the sand behind the Old Mole, and then secured with timber, etc., at different degrees of elevation. These arrangements had been for some time in agitation; and being now completed, he determined to make the experiment. About 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the 28th, six rounds were discharged from each: three of the shells burst in the enemy's

camp, and one over it. The other two exploded in their passage: all the shot went home. A battalion of Spanish guards, happening to be under arms, were greatly alarmed, and dispersed three different times: at length they were assembled, and marched off toward the left. This being only intended as an experiment, the artillery soon ceased firing; but it is scarcely possible to express the general satisfaction which this success diffused through the garrison. The mortar was loaded with from 30 lbs. to 28½ lbs. of powder at the usual elevation; the 32-pounder with 14, and the 18 with 9 lbs. of powder; all the latter at an elevation of 42 degrees.

The governor, beside this plan of retaliation, devised other schemes to cover and protect his camp, if possible, from future attacks. Two brigs were ordered to be cut down and converted into *prames*, each to carry 4 or 5 heavy cannon; which were to be moored between the New Mole and Ragged Staff, at such distance from the works as to be easily protected, and yet far enough out to keep their boats at a respectful distance. Artificers from the garrison assisted the navy in fitting out these vessels. One of them being finished previous to the before-mentioned experiment, was moored at the distance of about half musket-shot from the New Mole head. She was named the *Vanguard*, mounted 2 Spanish 26-pounders, and 2 twelves, and was rigged like a settee. The enemy's squadron, on the 29th, was reinforced with 5 xebeques and 2 galleys, from the east. At night sailed a packet for Faro, in Portugal.

The 2nd July, additional tents were pitched at the new camp near the tower, north of Algeziras. About one in the morning of the 4th, the gun-boats repeated their attack; but contrary to their former custom, numbers of their shot and shells fell amongst

the shipping. The *Porcupine* frigate, Sir Charles Knowles, Bart., and an Indiaman, each received a shot; and the *Brilliant's* bottom was struck with a splinter of a shell, which burst under her; but no particular damage was received in the garrison, except two men being slightly wounded. The governor retaliated by ordering six rounds of shot and shells to be fired into their camp, from the guns and sea-mortars at the Old Mole: the cannon were pointed indiscriminately for the camp; but the mortars were laid for the fascine and artillery parks. One of the shells set fire to a hut, and alarmed them exceedingly. As the governor now determined to retaliate in this manner, we were in hopes it would deter them from so frequently disturbing us.

The enemy continued making gabions, and bringing much wood into the camp: on the other hand, our people were employed in repairs, and additions to the works. Traverses were erected at the Royal battery, and parties were employed on the north front, from the rock gun to the Old Mole head. The 10th, a brig coming in from the east was taken by the enemy's cruisers, which for some weeks past had again kept a very vigilant look-out. The crew, however, escaped to the rock; and they had thrown the letters overboard before they abandoned the vessel.

The bombardment, which, by almost imperceptible degrees, had been decreasing, on the 12th nearly ceased. The cannon in their 7 and 14-gun batteries were all drawn back, to facilitate, as we imagined, the repairing of the platforms and inner part of the batteries. The 13th some troops at the tower decamped, and in a few days afterwards a regiment marched away from the Algeziras camp. The 15th two settees and a brig sailed from Point Mala with gabions to the west. One vessel had sailed

thence on the 13th. These materials, we conjectured, were for some new works in the neighbourhood; but we were afterwards informed that they were taken to Minorca, and were used in the approaches carried on against St. Philip's. Their firing was now confined to the night, and unless we provoked them, scarcely ever exceeded thirty rounds.

The Spanish general visited the lines on the 18th; but a fire breaking out in his camp, he returned immediately on its appearance. In the evening the caissons for the Queen's battery being carried up to Willis's, and the sand-bags brought from Pocoroca clay-pit, the engineers at dusk, with a party of 380 men, began to re-establish the merlons; and by the morning gun-fire of the 19th the old sand-bags were removed, the caissons placed, and filled with clay, sand, and junk, and the battery made fit for the reception of artillery. The governor was present the whole time, and expressed the highest approbation of the diligence and activity of the party. The caissons were made of oak timber, joined by strong iron bolts. Whilst they were at work the gun-boats fired upon the camp, and were seconded by the land batteries on the town: 132 rounds were returned on the boats, and 16 shells thrown into the enemy's camp. One of the artillery and one of the 73rd regiment were wounded.

The morning of the 20th the enemy fired a salute from the lines, followed by a *feu-de-joie* from the army drawn up in two lines in front of their camp, concluding with a grand discharge from their shipping and small craft at Algeziras. The troops in garrison changed quarters on the 21st: the 39th and Hardenberg's regiments relieved the 72nd, and other detachments in King's and Montague's bastions, Water Port casemate, and Picket yard. The 58th, 72nd, and 73rd

regiments encamped; the 12th regiment remained on their ground, and the 56th, Reden's, and La Motte's occupied the South barracks and other quarters. The enemy on the same day decamped from the ground north of Algeziras. Brigadier Ross sailed on the night of the 22nd in a boat to Faro, in his route to England; and the following day a privateer arrived in eight days from Mahon, with a packet. Two days afterwards a boat arrived from Portugal. The patron informed us that the army at that time before Gibraltar principally consisted of militia regiments, the regular troops having embarked for the West Indies: he further said, that the Spanish fleet had sailed from Cadiz on a cruise. Soon after this boat arrived a large fleet of upwards of seventy sail appeared from the west: when abreast of Europa we discovered amongst them a ship of the line, two frigates, two cutters, a bomb-ketch, and several armed vessels: they did not display any colours. This proved afterwards to be the fleet which blockaded Mahon, and conveyed the troops which besieged Fort St. Philip, under the command of the Duc de Crillon, and captured the island of Minorca.

Our camp was alarmed on the 27th with the report that the gun-boats were approaching. The batteries were manned, and the regiments assembled; but the enemy not appearing, they returned to quarters. The signals for seeing the boats in future were ordered to be a false fire, and two guns from the shipping.

August was introduced by an attack from the gun-boats. They came upon us by surprise; for we had no signal from our guard-boats. This was afterwards accounted for by the enemy having taken a circle; by which means our guard-boats, when they began to fire, were without, and the gun-boats between them and the garrison. Our fire in return was well served,

and appeared to do some execution: twelve large shells and fifteen shot were likewise thrown into the camp from the Old Mole: several of the former burst just as they fell, consequently promised to do mischief. Their land batteries seconded the fire from the sea, but we did not experience any casualties. Two days afterwards the other prame, called the *Repulse*, mounting five 26-pounders, was moored about musket-shot to the southward of the *Vanguard*, and the same distance from our batteries. These vessels were of such annoyance to their boats, that whilst they remained out, we never afterwards were so much disturbed at the southward.

The artillery at Willis's endeavoured on the 4th to set fire to the canes and weeds in the gardens; but they were too full of sap to take fire. This attempt attracted a brisk cannonade for some time from the enemy. Early in the morning of the 6th a shell fell into a tent behind General La Motte's quarters, at the southward, in which were two men of the 58th, asleep. They were not awakened by its fall; but a sergeant in an adjacent tent heard it, and ran near forty yards to a place of safety, when he recollected the situation of his friends. Thinking the shell had fallen blind, he returned and awakened them: both immediately rose, but continued by the place, debating on the narrow escape they had had, when the shell exploded, and forced them with great violence against the garden-wall, but miraculously did no further mischief than destroying everything in the tent.

On the morning of the 7th, before the haze was quite dispelled in the Gut, a signal for an enemy was made by the Spaniards at Cabrita Point. As the fog dispersed we discovered at a considerable distance a vessel becalmed, but rowing towards the garrison with the current. Fourteen gun-boats were then

advancing from Algeziras to intercept her: upon which Captain Curtis, of the *Brilliant*, ordered out Sir Charles Knowles, with three barges, to endeavour to get alongside, and receive any dispatches the vessel might have on board, whilst he attended the towing out of the *Vanguard* and *Repulse* prames, to cover them and protect her. Sir Charles personally executed his orders, and returned with a packet for the governor. The vessel by this time was about a league and a half from the garrison, and the headmost gun-boat within shot, advancing apparently with an intent to board; stopping, however, at the distance of a few hundred yards, she poured in a discharge of round and grape shot, and was immediately seconded by her consorts astern. The vessel, which we now discovered to be a king's sloop-of-war, returned the salute with a broadside, and musketry from her quarter-deck; and a spirited action commenced. Appearances at this juncture were so greatly in favour of the Spaniards, that the garrison gave up the sloop for lost. Becalmed a league from the rock, and fourteen gun-boats, each carrying a 26-pounder, full of men, cannonading her on every side with grape and round shot; a xebeque also bearing down with a gentle breeze, were circumstances which seemed to preclude the possibility of escape. After maintaining, however, a very warm, judicious, and well-served fire, often obliging the boats to retire, the westerly breeze at last reached her; and not long afterwards she was safe under our guns. She proved to be the *Helena* sloop-of-war, 14 small guns, Captain Roberts, in 14 days from England. Her loss during this action was much less than could have been possibly imagined, when we considered the showers of grape and round shot that every instant surrounded her; she had only 1 killed and 2 wounded; but her upper rigging and sails were much cut and

injured. We attributed the hull's being scarcely touched to the construction of the gun-boats; for, being originally intending to annoy at a distance, their cannon could not be depressed. The enemy, however, did not escape so well: numbers were seen to drop in the boats from the musketry of the sloop, and several were towed off disabled; which were very convincing proofs that their loss was considerable.

A settee was taken on the 12th by the enemy's cruisers. The crew, excepting three Jew passengers, escaped to the garrison: they informed us that great preparations were making in the French and Spanish ports for some grand expedition: the object was, however, kept secret; but many at Minorca suspected St. Philip's to be the place.

The enemy's bombardment, if we may now call it by that name, scarcely exceeded, at this time, three shells in the 24 hours, which the soldiers (conjecturing that some allusion might be intended, by that superstitious nation, to the sacred Trinity) jocosely, though profanely termed, *Father*, *Son* and *Holy Ghost*. It is not indeed altogether improbable that the Spaniards might entertain some bigoted respect for that mystical number, and, considering the British in the light of heretics, might apprehend some efficacy from it, in the great work of *converting the garrison to the Catholic faith:* at least, it is difficult, on any more reasonable ground, to account for their exactly continuing to fire neither more nor less, for so considerable a period.

The mention of this circumstance brings to my recollection another, of a ridiculous nature, which serves to demonstrate the thoughtlessness of the English soldiers, who can jest in the hour of danger, and indulge their prejudices at the expense of what other nations, however differing in sentiment, generally agree to hold in a degree of respect. It is first

to be remembered, that, according to the articles of capitulation by which the garrison was surrendered to Admiral Sir George Rooke, it was stipulated that the inhabitants should be tolerated in their religion: the old Spanish church was therefore continued as a place of worship for those of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and, as is usual in Roman Catholic churches, was decorated, amongst others, with figures, as large as life, of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary.

At the commencement of the firing, when the soldiers were engaged in a succession of irregularities, a party of them assembled in the Spanish church, to carouse and be merry. In the midst of their jollity, the image of the Virgin Mary was observed in the ruins by one of the party, who instantly proposed, as a piece of fun, to place her ladyship in the whirligig.[1] The scheme seemed to meet with general approbation, till one, wiser than the rest, stopped them with a remark, that it would ill become them, as military men, and particularly Englishmen, to punish any person without a trial. A court-martial consequently sat, with mock ceremony; and her ladyship was found guilty of drunkenness, debauchery, and other high crimes, and condemned to the whirligig, whither she was immediately carried in procession. The governor (who, notwithstanding the firing, regularly attended the parade), at guard-mounting discovered the poor Virgin in confinement; but expressed his disapprobation of the action, and ordered her instantly to be removed to the White Convent, where, by-the-by, she was by no means exempt from further insult and disgrace. If a bigoted Spaniard could have beheld this transaction, he probably would have thought the

[1] A machine erected at the bottom of the Grand Parade, for the punishment of scolding women, or others guilty of trifling misdemeanours.

English worse than heretics; and would have concluded, that their impiety could not fail to attract the special vengeance of Heaven.

The night of the 15th, the gun and mortar-boats bombarded our camp; their disposition extending from off Little Bay to the Old Mole head: their fire, as had been the custom for some time before, was seconded by a brisk cannonade from the lines, which was very judiciously served. Many of their shells burst in the air, over our shipping; but the ships continued silent. Our artillery retaliated from the Old Mole head, and *small* shells were discharged from the elevated guns, which seemed to answer very well. One of the 72nd regiment was killed; 2 of the artillery, and 2 of the 73rd, with a boy, an inhabitant, were wounded. In this attack, a shell fell amongst some naval stores, in a ground-ward of the Naval hospital; and the most dreadful consequences might have been expected from this accident, if the fire had not been happily extinguished by the picket, which the governor had ordered, some time before, to assemble here, to prevent, if possible, such casualties. The other picket, which mounted at the southward, was stationed for the same purpose at the New Mole.

A schooner arrived from Faro on the 17th, with fruit, onions, and salt. In the evening, a flag of truce came from the enemy, in answer to ours of the preceding day. The day following, another boat arrived from Faro; she brought a packet, with some private letters from Lisbon, which intimated the probability of our receiving a visit from the combined fleet, then cruising off Cadiz. At night several guns were heard in the Gut, and a number of signals made at the point. The succeeding morning, his Majesty's cutter the *Kite* arrived from England, with duplicates of the *Helena's* dispatches. In her passage she engaged a French

cutter of 20 guns, and had 3 men killed and 6 wounded. The enemy's cruisers endeavoured to intercept her, but were driven to leeward. A boat also arrived about the same time from Portugal.

The firing from the garrison now varied according as the enemy's parties presented themselves: at this period they were busy in repairing Fort St. Philip, and in securing their works against the approaching rainy season. Our engineers were repairing the communications and batteries at Willis's, etc. A soldier of the 73rd deserted to the enemy the 25th: he had been absent from his corps five days, during which time he had concealed himself on the rock. Hunger probably pressing him, he determined to make a bold attempt to get off: accordingly, stuffing a sand-bag with grass, he came to Land Port, and placing, unobserved, the bag upon the spikes of the palisades, jumped, unhurt, on the glacis: then running over the causeway, he soon cleared Bayside barrier, and, though many hundred rounds of musketry were fired from Land Port and the Lines guards, he escaped. He was the fourth man lost by desertion in the course of six weeks.

Early the 27th, four men, who had been impressed from a privateer in the bay, deserted from the *Repulse* prame. The next morning we were visited again by the gun and mortar boats; but they scarcely stayed one-third of their former time. We returned nine shot and 58 shells, which, from the shrieks and piteous cries we heard, must have done execution. We annoyed them in camp from the Old Mole, as usual; and the artillery attempted to reach them from Willis's, but in vain. In this attack a wounded matross was killed by a shell in the hospital. The circumstances attending this man's case are so melancholy and affecting, that I cannot pass them over in silence.

Some time previous to this event, he had been so unlucky as to break his thigh: being a man of great spirits, he ill brooked the confinement which his case demanded, and exerted himself to get abroad, that he might enjoy the benefit of the fresh air in the court of the hospital: unfortunately, in one of his playful moments, he fell, and was obliged to take to his bed again. He was in this situation when a shell from the mortar boats fell into the ward, and, rebounding, lodged upon him. The convalescents and sick, in the same room, instantly summoned strength to crawl out on hands and knees, while the fuse was burning; but this wretched victim was kept down by the weight of the shell, which, after some seconds, burst, took off both his legs, and scorched him in a dreadful manner: but, what was still more horrid, he survived the explosion, and was sensible to the very moment that death relieved him from his misery. His last words were expressive of regret that he had not been killed on the batteries.

The enemy's attention to the blockade seemed now to be revived. Their cruisers were increased, and constantly on the watch. The force in the bay at this time was one ship of the line, a xebeque having a broad pendant, a frigate, and five xebeques, with the gun and mortar boats, and small armed craft. The arrangement of these vessels for the purpose of blockading the garrison appeared to be as follows:—When the wind was west, two xebeques and four gun-boats anchored at Cabrita Point, cruising at night at the entrance of the bay and in the straits; when easterly, the frigate, xebeques, and four gun-boats cruised some between Ceuta and Europa, and others in the Gut; one xebeque was generally observed to lie-to off Europa Point, at the entrance of the bay. Though this disposition apparently obstructed all intercourse

between the garrison and our friends in Portugal and Minorca, yet opportunities sometimes occurred when boats slipped out unobserved, and returned with the same success.

The evening of the 30th, the enemy's cannonade, which, except when the boats fired on our camp, seldom exceeded three shells in the 24 hours, was pretty smart for an hour or two, occasioned by our firing on their working parties. Such starts of retaliation they were often provoked to by our annoying their workmen in the batteries.

The prames had been found so useful that, in the beginning of September, the navy began to fit up the *Fortune* sloop, in order to add to their number. The 5th, a flag of truce from the enemy brought over —— Pratts, an inhabitant of Gibraltar, who had been taken by the Spaniards in the *Fox* packet, about 12 months before, and whom, as it was said, the enemy for some time had objected to exchange. By this man we were informed that the Duc de Crillon, with 10,000 men, had landed at Minorca, and that it was reported he was to be joined by a French army from Toulon. The evening of the 7th, the captain at Willis's again endeavoured to set fire to the weeds, etc., in the gardens, which, from their height, afforded great cover to the enemy's advanced sentries; and in executing these orders a brisk cannonade was returned by the enemy, which continued till daybreak. Our carcasses and light balls frequently took effect, but the canes were too green to be burnt to any purpose. In the course of this firing, several shot from the lines, ranged as far as the South barracks and New Mole. Great numbers of gabions were now observed in the enemy's fascine park.

The evening of the 12th, they fired a grand salute from their lines and shipping and a *feu-de-joie* in

camp. After the salute, they continued to cannonade from the lines, though for some days before they had only fired their mystical number, three, in the 24 hours. We imagined this salute to be on account of the Duc de Crillon having gained some advantage at Minorca. In the course of their firing, on the 15th, a circumstance happened similar to one which occurred in May, and both of them may be considered as extraordinary. A shell from the lines fell upon the rock, above the Red Sands, and glanced off in a direction nearly at right angles with its range; it rolled to the bottom of the Princess of Wales's lines, burst on the platform of one of the 32-pounders, and a splinter cutting the apron of the gun, fired it off. The shot took away the railing at the foot of the glacis, and lodged in the line-wall near Ragged Staff.

We observed on the 16th, that the enemy, during the preceding night, had thrown up three banks of sand in zigzags, beginning at the centre of the fourth branch of approach, which seemed intended as a line of direction for a new communication to the St. Carlos's battery. In the evening, the governor ordered the artillery to direct a brisk fire on this work, which was continued till daybreak of the 17th. The enemy returned the fire reluctantly, from a wish, as we imagined, not to increase ours. The next morning, we observed they had retained the sand thrown up the preceding night with casks; and from the materials seen in the vicinity of the works, other additions seemed intended to be made. At night, Crouchett's howitzer battery and Montague's bastion were opened, and, with Willis's, etc., were kept constantly going. About midnight the gun-boats, attended by a bomb-ketch, as we conjectured, came over, and, contrary to their former practice, directed their fire towards Willis's, the lines, and north end of the town. So

determined were they to land their shells, that one went over the rock, and many fell on the hill; and, in attempting to imitate us in bursting their shells in the air, several exploded in their mortars. They stayed two hours and a half, and expended 130 shells and 87 shot, and their land batteries were not so sparing as the night before. We returned a smart fire on both sea and land, and retaliated on their camp, as usual.

A shell, during the above attack, fell in an embrasure opposite the King's lines bomb-proof, killed one of the 73rd, and wounded another of the same corps. The case of the latter was singular, and will serve to enforce the maxim, that, even in the most dangerous cases, we should never despair of a recovery whilst life remains. This unfortunate man was knocked down by the wind of the shell, which, instantly bursting, killed his companion, and mangled him in a most dreadful manner. His head was terribly fractured, his left arm broken in two places, one of his legs shattered, the skin and muscles torn off part of his right hand, the middle finger broken to pieces, and his whole body most severely bruised, and marked with gunpowder. He presented so horrid an object to the surgeons, that they had not the smallest hopes of saving his life, and were at a loss what part to attend to first. He was that evening trepanned, a few days afterwards his leg was amputated, and other wounds and fractures dressed. Being possessed of a most excellent constitution, nature performed wonders in his favour, and in eleven weeks the cure was completely affected. His name is Donald Ross, and he long continued to enjoy his sovereign's bounty in a pension of 9*d.* a day for life. A non-commissioned officer of artillery also lost his thigh on Montague's bastion; and a private of the 12th regiment both his legs: the latter died soon after the amputation was performed.

The morning of the 18th, a deserter from the Spanish guards came in from the St. Carlos's battery. He was pursued by four of the enemy, but in vain. He gave information of the enemy's intention to erect some new batteries. About 10 o'clock in the evening, a shell from the lines fell into a house opposite the King's bastion, where the town-major, Captain Burke, with Majors Mercier and Vignoles, of the 39th regiment, were sitting. The shell took off Major Burke's thigh, afterwards fell through the floor into the cellar: there it burst, and forced the flooring, with the unfortunate major, to the ceiling. When assistance came, they found Major Burke almost buried amongst the ruins of the room. He was instantly conveyed to the hospital, where he died soon after the wounded part was amputated, much lamented by his friends as an amiable and worthy member of society, and by the governor as an indefatigable officer. Majors Mercier and Vignoles had time to escape before the shell burst: they were nevertheless slightly wounded by the splinters; as were a sergeant of the 39th, and his daughter, who were in the cellar underneath when the shell entered. This house had escaped almost untouched during the warmest period of the bombardment, till this unfortunate shell fell in, which deprived the garrison of this active and valuable officer.

The enemy did not increase their works the succeeding day, but debouched the fourth branch of the approach about the centre. In the evening, the *Helena* and *Kite*, with a privateer, left the bay for England, and a schooner for Portugal. Lieutenant Lowe, of the 12th, who had lost his leg, and the invalids, went home in the former. Our firing was increased at night by the Catalan batteries; and Crouchett's was still kept open. The 20th, Captain Fowlis, of the 73rd, was appointed town-major.

Our working parties were employed by the engineers, on the 21st, in repairing Princess Caroline's battery, at Willis's, which, owing to the spirited behaviour and example of the officers, was cleared, the caissons placed, filled, and the battery completed, before night, under a most heavy fire from the enemy. When the work was finished, the party desired to give three cheers, but they were overruled by the captain of artillery, who recommended to salute the enemy with three rounds from each gun; which was immediately put in execution. The party had not a man materially hurt during the warm cannonade; but, in returning to be dismissed, a sergeant of La Motte's, who had braved the dangers of the day, was killed by a random shot below the artillery guard. Our firing continued with great vivacity on the 22nd, particularly with small shells from the Royal battery, Willis's, and Montague's bastion. These were kept going in the day; and at night these batteries, with the Catalans, Crouchett's, and batteries at the entrance of the lines, were in action. The enemy, in return, were not sparing of ammunition; in the preceding 24 hours they fired 775 shot, and 57 shells. The garrison discharged 773 rounds of different species.

The enemy's new works were erected with casks, covered and retained by fascines, with sand in the front. About 200 men appeared to be employed in the day; but they were often compelled to retire, our ordnance was so well served and directed. The gunboats, on the morning of the 24th, visited us as usual; and it was thought that a bomb-ketch again attended them. They pointed their fire principally towards the Victualling Office, in town, and Willis's: some shells fell in the New Mole, but few ashore at the southward. We returned their fire, and retaliated from the Old Mole on their camp.

Early in the morning of the 25th, the fascine capping of the merlons of Fort Barbara took fire from the enemy's guns, and burnt extremely fierce. The officer at Willis's immediately directed a brisk fire on the fort, which the governor afterwards increased by opening the Grand battery. The firing, however, from the latter did not answer so well as was expected, owing, perhaps, to the unevenness of the platforms, which were of stone, and much worn. Nevertheless, the enemy were obliged to evacuate the fort without extinguishing the fire. At daybreak we saw only five fascine merlons standing; the other seven were all destroyed, with some gun-carriages, traverses on the rampart, and fascine-work in the ditch. We imagined that this accident would render the fort useless for some time; but they convinced us that our conclusions were premature, by firing, probably out of bravado, a few shot in the course of the day, which killed one of the 58th, and wounded another. In the morning, about seven, the *Flying-fish* cutter, of 20 guns, arrived with ordnance stores and intrenching tools; she informed us that government had engaged 20 cutters, of her force, for the same purpose. A xebeque and four gun-boats opposed her passage, but in vain.

The 26th, Lieutenant Clarke, of the 56th, died of a decline. In the course of the day, the enemy began to clear Fort Barbara, and in the evening to lay fascines (a great number of which were in the neighbourhood of the fort) towards repairing it. Our fire continued to be well directed, and considerably annoyed them. The 27th, a man was discovered near Catalan bay, by the guard at Middle Hill. A party of the navy immediately went round, and took him up. He proved to be a deserter from the 72nd regiment; but the wretch was so famished with hunger, and so bruised in getting down the rock, that his life was despaired of. The

28th, the enemy capped two merlons of Fort Barbara. Their parties were very diligent in making gabions and fascines; the former, we imagined, were removed, as they were finished, to the lines and advanced works, as we had observed several behind the fourth and fifth branches of the approach. This circumstance, with their unusual activity in completing others, confirmed our late intelligence, that they intended additional batteries near the St. Carlos's.

The firing from the garrison now exceeded 700 rounds in the 24 hours; and the enemy frequently returned 800, and sometimes more. Our casualties consequently began again to be pretty frequent amongst our parties, which, in a great measure, was owing to the want of prudence in the men, who were become so habituated to the enemy's fire as scarcely to regard their shot; and in fact, if a shell were at their feet, it was almost necessary for the officers to caution them to avoid its effects. It was really wonderful to behold with what undaunted coolness they persisted in their several occupations, though exposed to the enemy's whole artillery: indeed, the generality appeared totally callous to every sense of danger.

Both sides continued indefatigable in their operations. The enemy finished two or three merlons in Fort Barbara, erected traverses near the tower, in the rear of the new communication, and were continually bringing large quantities of fascines, etc., to the lines. On the other hand, our engineers caissoned the terrace batteries, replaced the sand-bags before the merlons of the Queen's battery, and had parties daily employed in repairs. The 30th, a soldier of the 72nd lost his legs by a shot from Fort Barbara, from which they continued occasionally to fire. He bore amputation with prodigious firmness, but died soon after, through the loss of blood, previous to his being brought to

the hospital. This fact being represented to the governor, the sergeants of the different regiments were ordered to attend the hospital, to be taught by the surgeons how to apply the tourniquets; which was afterwards productive of very beneficial consequences. Tourniquets were also distributed to the different guards, to be at hand in case of necessity.

The enemy for several days had made very little addition to the new communication, and the third return appeared still unfinished. A party of the enemy was, however, discovered from Willis's, on the evening of the 1st of October, working to the west of the St. Carlos's battery; and they persisting in their labour, our fire was increased from the batteries below, which brought on a warm return. At daybreak we observed, at the extremity of the new approach, a large epaulment, of 45 gabions long, two in height, and 4 or 5 in breadth. On the top were several layers of sand-bags, and sand was banked up to protect it in front. It was situated within the western *place d'armes* of the St. Carlos's battery, towards the beach, in a direction forming a very obtuse angle with the front of the above battery. Our engineers immediately agreed that this epaulment was intended for mortars; which induced the governor, in the course of the 2nd, to order two embrasures (masked at the Old Mole head, to cover the mortars which we usually fired into their camp) to be opened, and two howitzers to be kept in action from thence. At night, our firing at intervals was so astonishingly brisk, that the whole north front, from the rock gun to the Mole head, was obscured in smoke. This fire was continued, with little intermission, till daybreak; and though the enemy did not return it warmly, they made up for their silence the succeeding day. During the twenty-four hours they discharged 1,263 rounds,

and the preceding day 1,948; which to us was a proof that they were considerably galled by our fire.

We had observed, for some weeks, a party of the enemy erecting a building upon an eminence near the stone quarry, under the Queen of Spain's Chair, which at length turned out to be a signal tower; but no use was made of it till the beginning of this month, when we discovered that it was intended to give information to their batteries in the lines when our working-parties were going up the hill. On their marching up, the morning of the 3rd, a signal was made from the tower, and their batteries immediately increased their fire on the heights: on their return in the evening, the signal was repeated. This practice they continued for some time. At night, the body of a soldier of the 12th regiment, who attempted to swim to the enemy from Water Port, was discovered floating near the Repulse prame. The sailors on the watch, imagining some large fish had got foul of their cable, darted a harpoon into the body, but soon found out their mistake. The succeeding morning, we observed that the enemy had thrown up a cover from the eastern shoulder of the new battery to the western magazine of the St. Carlos's: they also raised a shoulder on the western extremity, and erected five traverses in the rear.

Our firing, on the 4th, was ordered to be diminished; only Montague's and the hill batteries were kept going: few shot were now used, as the enemy seemed to pay little attention to them; and we had ocular proofs daily of the annoyance from the small shells, which immediately made them desist, and get under cover. The same day a mutiny was discovered on board his Majesty's cutter, the *Speedwell*, Lieutenant Gibson; and four of the ringleaders were seized and confined. The plan of this conspiracy was to murder

the officers of the watch, cut the cable, and run away with the vessel to Algeziras, where they computed she would sell for a handsome sum, which was to be equally divided amongst the people interested, who were then to depart for England. Near half the crew were concerned; and the same evening, if the wind continued favourable, the scheme was to have been put in execution. Happily one of the party (I believe a Spanish deserter) confessed in time to render the whole abortive. It was somewhat singular that Mr. Gibson had been so unfortunate, when in England, as to have the cutter he then commanded run away with by the crew into a French port, whilst he and his officers were ashore.

The enemy, on the night of the 4th, threw up a line of casks and sand, extending upwards of 60 feet in a parallel line to the front of St. Carlos's. Some additions were also made to the new battery. The raising of the former work induced many to believe that they were come at last to the determination of besieging the garrison in form; and that this, with other works to be erected, would be the first parallel of attack. It was a lucky circumstance, in some respects, to have an enemy so tardy in their operations. Our troops were now accustomed, by six months' bombardment, to the discharge and effect of heavy artillery, their firing had pointed out our weak places, which the governor and engineers had been indefatigable in strengthening, so that the garrison was now really in a better state of defence than at the commencement of the bombardment. In the nights of the 5th and 6th, the parallel, as we called the line to the east, was extended about 100 feet, and the new mortar battery raised with fascines. Small traverses were also made in the rear of the new approach from the fourth branch.

The gun and mortar boats had now been absent some time; probably owing to the repairs which the mortar boats necessarily demanded. On the evening of the 7th they, however, renewed their visit, much earlier than was customary, and stayed upwards of two hours. Their shot seemed all directed at our prames, whilst their shells, the fuses of which were remarkably dark, were thrown ashore. They fired about 300 shot and 23 shells, killed one of the 73rd, and wounded two of the 12th. We returned 43 shot, 16 grape, and 279 shells. The 8th, two mortars were mounted in the new mortar battery; and from the pickets marked for the platforms, we concluded it would mount eight mortars. In the afternoon a shell fell into a house in town, in which Ensign Stephens, of the 39th, was sitting: imagining himself not safe where he was, he quitted the room to get to a more secure place; but just as he passed the door the shell burst, and a splinter mortally wounded him in the reins, and another took off his leg. He was conveyed to the hospital, and had suffered amputation before the surgeons discovered the mortal wound in his body. He died about seven o'clock, much regretted as a promising young officer.

The enemy's parties appearing numerous within the new works, our firing from the garrison was increased on the 11th, and was as briskly returned. The governor, however, ordered the artillery to be less profuse in future, unless some casualty demanded an additional fire; for their loss, he was of opinion, bore no proportion to our expenditure. Our small shells were also decreasing very fast; and the enemy appeared too well covered with traverses in the new works to be much annoyed by them. The succeeding day our fire scarcely exceeded a hundred rounds; and the enemy's was equally diminished.

Their naval force before Gibraltar at this time was rather insignificant, though perfectly sufficient for the blockade. Most of their xebeques had left the station, as we imagined, to block up Mahon; and only one line-of-battle ship, one frigate, one xebeque, and two bomb-ketches, with the small craft and gun-boats, remained in the bay. The 13th, the governor ordered our lower batteries to be silent, in order to prove whether the enemy could be diverted from firing on the town, as their batteries, contrary to the usual practice of besiegers, seemed to be guided in a great measure by ours; and the manœuvre had the desired effect. Their parties were now employed chiefly in finishing the interior part of the new mortar battery.

The garrison, on the 15th, fired only forty rounds; and the enemy did not exceed double the number. The night of the 18th, they were heard hard at work; but this circumstance produced no additional fire from us, as our artillery had been limited to a certain quantity since the governor ordered the firing to decrease. The subsequent morning, we observed they had erected a battery, of six embrasures, joining the second branch of the new communication, and bearing on Water Port and the town, about 1,200 yards from the Grand battery: only four merlons appeared finished; the other three were in a rude state, with a number of fascines, pickets, and planks lying about the work, and at the *débouchure* of the fourth branch. The governor, in the morning of the 19th, ordered a warm fire on the new battery, which the enemy instantly returned. One of our carcasses set fire to the first branch of the new approach, and it burnt for some time. The following morning we found they had removed the sand to extinguish the fire, and displaced many of the fascines, which, with other materials, were

lying in a confused manner in the vicinity of the breach.

The night of the 20th, we were visited by the gun-boats; but their stay was much shorter than usual, owing to the springing up of a brisk easterly wind: one of their shells slightly wounded Assistant-engineer Evans. This attack, we imagined, was intended to engage our attention from the land side, where the eneny were heard busily at work; it had not, however, that effect, as our batteries directed an additional fire, and continued it the whole night. At daybreak we found they had repaired the breach made by the fire, and strengthened the merlons of their gun battery with gabions and sand heaped up in front.

The situation of this battery afforded a more serious appearance than any operations yet undertaken by the enemy. Colonel Tovey, the commandant of artillery, therefore recommended to the governor to open upon it, without loss of time, from such heavy guns and howitzers as might be soon brought to bear upon it; assisted, at the same time, with some 13-inch shells, and a few *red-hot* shot from an 18-pounder or two. The following morning the enemy had almost completed the battery; the governor was therefore induced to comply with the representation of Colonel Tovey, and ordered the upper batteries, etc., to be opened on the enemy's works, and to continue to fire from his direction. About four o'clock in the afternoon of the 22nd (a captain and two subalterns, with the artillery picket, manning the lower batteries) the firing commenced, and was continued with unremitting spirit and regularity the remainder of the evening and night. The enemy, in return, discharged repeated volleys from their lines; but to little purpose. Our artillery

soon drove them from the battery, which frequently was set on fire by the carcasses, but extinguished. On the morning of the 23rd we had the mortification to find, that, notwithstanding the heavy fire kept up on it in the night, five of the embrasures were masked with sand-bags, to enable the whole better to resist the effect of our shells. The work was nevertheless considerably damaged, though not in a degree equal to our expense in ammunition. The firing at noon was therefore ordered to cease, as we had expended 1,596 shot, 530 shells (most of a heavy nature), 10 carcasses, and 2 light balls. It must appear almost incredible, that a battery at such a distance should be able to resist such heavy ordnance, without being levelled to the ground; but indeed few works were ever erected so strong and compact. The St. Carlos's battery was silent the whole time; and from the lines they returned 1,012 shot and 302 shells. Our loss was not very great; but on the enemy's side, many were observed to fall, and several to be carried into the lines; their gallantry, we may therefore imagine, cost them dear.

The succeeding night they repaired the damage done by our fire, and erected two traverses in the rear of the gun battery; it is probable they were working also on the platforms; and during the two following nights they strengthened it with other additions. The 25th the enemy's fire was rather singular. In the afternoon, about nine, their batteries, for near an hour and a half, discharged repeated salvos from both cannon and mortars; not directing their fire to any particular object, but scattering their shot in every direction towards the garrison, and bursting the shells principally in the air. In the afternoon, about three, this mode of firing was repeated, and continued nearly the same time. The

26th, Lieutenant Vicars, of the 56th, was slightly wounded in the lines.

The night of the 29th, a brisk cannonade was heard towards the west; and soon after, by the moon, we discovered a cutter engaging a frigate, a xebeque, and several gun-boats. The cutter answered a signal made by the *Brilliant* at the commencement of the action, by which we knew her to be a friend. After the engagement had continued very warm for a considerable time, the firing ceased, and she was obliged to submit to so superior a force. The succeeding night, the *Unicorn* cutter arrived, and four boats from Faro; the former informed us, that she parted company with several cutters bound for Gibraltar. The fruit, etc., brought in the Portuguese boats, was immediately purchased by the governor, for the use of the sick in the hospitals; and some of the crew were confined, being suspected to come as spies. The 31st, the enemy's engineers were observed placing pickets to the westward of the 6-gun battery; apparently with a view of extending that work. Since our last attack upon it, the firing on both sides was much diminished. In the course of the month, three men deserted from the garrison.

The night of the 2nd of November, the signal was made for the approach of the enemy's gun and mortar boats, which for some time had not paid us the regular visits they formerly did; owing, as I have remarked before, to the repairs which the boats must necessarily demand; but the *Vanguard* and *Repulse* prames firing several shot, they retired. The 3rd, the *Fortune* prame, mounting five 26-pounders, was towed out, and moored to the southward of the *Vanguard*. The next day, about seven in the evening, 13 gun and 6 mortar boats fired briskly upon the garrison, seconded by the lines; they stayed near an

hour and a half, and threw a vast number of shells; but few were directed towards our camp. Lieutenant John Frazer, of the 73rd, had his leg shot off on Montague's bastion; and Lieutenant Edgar, of the 56th, was wounded with splinters of stones. Two of the 58th and 73rd were likewise wounded. The enemy continued, on the 6th and 7th, to make some few alterations, and collect fascines, gabions, and other materials at their lines, and various parts of the approaches. The parallel they also strengthened; but the 6-gun battery still remained masked with sand-bags.

As it appeared of greater consequence, at this period, to annoy the enemy from the Queen's battery at the Old Mole head, which formed an excellent cross-fire with the other batteries, than to fire into their camp, the mortars used for the latter purpose were removed, and the masked embrasures at the extremity, with two others adjoining, were ordered to be opened, and so altered as to admit of four howitzers bearing on the new battery. During the night of the 11th, the enemy erected an additional battery of six embrasures, westward of the other, where the pickets were observed at the close of last month. This work was retired a few yards, but joined the extremity of the shoulder of the old battery, and extended almost in the same direction towards the beach. It appeared very strong, and seemed to be intended against the Old Mole head and Water Port.

During the night of the 12th, many signals were made in the Gut and along the coast. In the morning we observed a cutter standing for the bay: a xebeque and three gun-boats attempted to intercept her, but she got in without firing a gun. She was called the *Phœnix*, and was laden, on government account, with

ordnance stores. Colonel Ross, who had left the garrison some months before, was a passenger, and returned to take the command of his regiment, the 72nd, or Royal Manchester Volunteers. The lieutenant who commanded the cutter, informed us that he parted company with two others, destined for the garrison, on the 11th; at which time one of them was engaged with two of the enemy's cruisers. In the afternoon some signals were made at Algeziras; and a cutter was observed standing in for the bay, chased by a frigate; whence we consequently concluded it must be one of the two mentioned by the *Phœnix*. At this time several gun-boats were cruising off Cabrita Point and at the entrance of the bay, waiting to intercept her. In the Straits the wind was W., but N.W. in the bay, and not very strong. About six in the evening she came up with the gun-boats and an armed xebeque; a smart engagement immediately commenced. Whilst she was retarded by these, a second division of gun-boats from Algeziras cut her off from the garrison; and the frigate coming up, after a most vigorous and resolute resistance, she struck. When she first appeared, six barges were ordered from our frigates to assist her, and a signal was hoisted on board the *Brilliant*, which she answered. The boats rowed out a considerable way, and, the evening being dark, found themselves amongst the enemy's gun-boats, from whom, with some difficulty, they extricated themselves. The subsequent morning we had the mortification to see the cutter towed into Algeziras by five gun-boats, with colours flying, and other marks of exultation and triumph.

The enemy about this time adopted the mode of cutting the fuses of their shells, so that most of them which were fired for a long range burst in the air.

They continued their practice of making signals at the tower above the Quarry, whenever our parties were assembled, or appeared at work: and the shot were in general better directed than before; but their effects against the works were considerably weakened by pieces of junk hung over the merlons of the batteries. Our workmen were chiefly employed at Willis's, in repairing the Tower battery, etc., and at the Old Mole. Other detachments were also engaged in various duties on the north front. The night of the 15th, the enemy lengthened the parallel considerably, and, the succeeding night, made further additions. In the forenoon of the 16th, a long-ranged shell, from the St. Carlos's battery, burst in the air over Hardy Town, and a splinter of it flew into the sea, beyond Buena Vista, a distance of more than three miles. Another shell fell, in the course of the morning, at the foot of a wine-house, south of the barracks; and several burst high in the air over South shed. We attributed these uncommon long ranges to the force of the wind, which, blowing in the same direction in which the shells were thrown, undoubtedly increased their velocity. Mr. Tinling, assistant-engineer, was wounded the same day at Willis's. A boat arrived on the 18th from Faro: the crew were separately examined, before they were permitted the liberty of the garrison. The patron of this boat informed us, that seven cutters, destined for Gibraltar, had been taken by the Spaniards.

Two deserters came in, about seven in the evening of the 20th; one a corporal, the other a private in the Walon guards. The former appeared to be very intelligent, and informed us of many circumstances with which we were not before acquainted. The new mortar battery, he said, was called St. Paschal's; and corroborated our intelligence, that it mounted two

mortars and six elevated guns. The two 6-gun batteries were named St. Martin's. He further acquainted us, that the camp was principally composed of militia regiments: that the men were much dissatisfied with their situation, and greatly harassed in raising the additional batteries: that they had suffered lately very severe losses from our fire; particularly instancing the 22nd and 23rd of the preceding month, when 7 officers and 80 men were killed and wounded. One of the latter was an engineer of rank, who died three days afterwards. We had remarked, in the course of the above firing, an officer to be particularly active, which we now found to be this engineer: he braved, for a considerable time, the dangers of the day, but at length fell, and was carried off. This deserter gave the governor further information, respecting the strength and arrangement of their guards; and the next morning was conducted to Willis's, where he described to him various parts of the enemy's works and camp. It had always been customary for the governor to detain the deserters at the convent a few days, till he was sufficiently informed of every particular; but these he immured so close, that, excepting some general information, the garrison had an opportunity of learning but few circumstances, till an event took place, which will presently be related.

The firing from both sides varied as objects offered. Many of the enemy's shells ranged as far as the South barracks; and others, agreeably to their newly adopted plan, burst in the air. The morning of the 22nd, a soldier of the 58th regiment, who had been missing several days, was seen to go into Fort Barbara, from behind the Rock. The following day the enemy mounted guns in the St. Martin's battery; and a party was employed in completing the six eastern embrasures, which were now unmasked. We

kept upon them our usual fire of small shells from Willis's and the upper batteries; but the lower ordnance were silent. In the course of the day the governor reconnoitred the enemy's works; and it was reported that all the batteries were to be again opened upon them, as soon as the four embrasures for the howitzers, at the Old Mole head, were completed.

The night of the 23rd, the besiegers added to the parallel a return of cask-work to the west: it appeared very slight and trifling. The two succeeding days, their parties were very active in finishing the batteries, which, on the 26th, exhibited a perfect and formidable appearance. This was the crisis which the governor considered as proper to frustrate all their immediate views, by destroying these stupendous works, the construction of which had cost them such immense labour and expense. By the deserters who came in on the 20th instant, he was acquainted with the inactivity which prevailed throughout the enemy's camp, and with the strength of their advanced guards. Lulled into security by their superiority of force, they never suspected the garrison capable of attempting so bold and hazardous a *coup-de-main*. The governor, however, secretly conceived this important design, and never imparted his intention till the evening in which it was put in execution.

The gates were no sooner shut, after first gun-firing, on the evening of the 26th, than he ordered a considerable detachment to assemble on the Red Sands at midnight, with devils, fire-faggots, and working implements, to make a sortie on the enemy's batteries. The general, field, and other officers to be employed on this service, were convened in the interim, and the disposition of attack communicated; but, lest some matters might have escaped him in the multiplicity of arrangements, the governor desired

every person to propose, without restraint, whatever would to his or their opinion, further promote the success of the enterprise. The following are the heads of the orders issued on this occasion.

"*Evening Garrison Orders.*

"Gibraltar, November 26, 1781.

"Countersign, Steady.

"All the grenadiers and light infantry of the garrison, and all the men of the 12th and Hardenberg's regiments, officers, and non-commissioned officers now on duty, to be immediately relieved, and join their regiments: to form a detachment, consisting of the 12th and Hardenberg's regiments complete, the grenadiers and light-infantry of all the other regiments (which are to be completed to their full establishment from the battalion companies); 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 10 non-commissioned officers, and 100 artillery, and 3 engineers, 7 officers, and 12 non-commissioned officers, overseers, with 160 workmen from the line, and 40 workmen from the artificer company. Each man to have 36 rounds of ammunition, with a good flint in his piece, and another in his pocket. No drums to go out, excepting two with each of the regiments. No volunteers will be allowed. The whole to be commanded by Brigadier-General Ross; and to assemble on the Red Sands at 12 o'clock this night, to make a sortie upon the enemy's batteries. The 39th and 58th regiments to parade at the same hour on the Grand Parade, under the command of Brigadier-General Picton, to sustain the sortie if necessary."

These were the principal orders for forming the detachment. At midnight the whole were assembled, and being joined by 100 sailors, commanded by Lieutenants Muckle and Campbell, R.N., the detach-

ment was divided into three columns, agreeably to the following disposition:

Left Column.
Lieut.-Col. Trigge.

	o.	s.	d.	r.&f.
72nd grenadiers	4	5	0	101
72nd lt. infantry	4	5	0	101
Sailors, with an engineer ...	3	3	0	100
Artillery ...	1	4	0	35
12th regiment	26	28	2	430
58th lt. infantry	3	3	0	57
	41	48	2	824

Centre Column.
Lieut.-Col. Dachenhausen and Major Maxwell.
The Reserve.

	o.	s.	r.&f.
39th grenadiers	3	3	57
39th lt. infantry	3	3	57
73rd grenadiers	4	5	101
73rd lt. infantry	4	5	101
Engineer with workmen ..	6	14	150
Artillery ..	2	4	40
56th grenadiers	3	3	57
58th grenadiers	3	3	57
	28	40	620

Right Column.
Lieut.-Col. Hugo.

	o.	s.	d.	r.&f.
Reden's grenadiers	3	7	0	71
La Motte's grenadiers.. ..	3	7	0	71
Engineer with workmen ..	4	6	0	50
Artillery	1	2	0	25
Hardenberg's regiment ..	16	34	2	296
56th lt. infantry	3	3	0	57
	30	59	2	570

In these columns, Brigadier Ross, and several officers who accompanied him as aides-de-camp, are not included, which will explain the difference between them and the annexed summary of the whole force of the garrison at this time.

	Colonels.	Lieut.-Cols.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Qr.-Mastrs.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	
Total out with the sortie	1	3	3	26	60	14	0	3	0	0	2	147	4	1914	Exclusive of the sailors from the frigates.
Sick in hospital	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	28	6	557	
Remaining in garrison	5	5	5	45	71	31	3	7	8	9	14	266	181	2,531	
Total strength of the garrison before the sortie	6	8	8	72	132	46	3	10	8	9	16	441	191	5,002	Total strength, 5,952.

The detachment being formed in three lines, the right column in the rear, and the left in the front, tools for demolishing the works were delivered to the workmen, and the following directions for their destination communicated to the principal officers.

"The right column to lead and march through Forbes's barrier, for the extremity of the parallel; keeping the eastern fences of the gardens close on their left. The centre immediately to follow, marching through Bay-side barrier, and directing their route

through the gardens for the mortar batteries. The left column to bring up the rear, marching along the strand for the gun batteries. No person to advance before the front, unless ordered by the officer commanding the column: and the most profound silence to be observed, as the success of the enterprise may depend thereon. The 12th and Hardenberg's regiments to form in front of the works, as sustaining corps; and are to detach to the right and left, as occasion may require. The reserve to take post in the farthest gardens. When the works are carried, the attacking troops are to take up their ground in the following manner. The grenadiers of Reden's and La Motte's behind the parallel; the 39th and 73rd flank companies along the front of the fourth branch; and the 72nd grenadiers and light infantry with their right to the fourth branch, and left to the beach."

By the time the destination of the columns was made known to the different officers, and other arrangements had taken place, the morning of the 27th was far advanced; and as the moon had then nearly finished her nightly course, the detachment, about a quarter before 3 o'clock, began its march, by files from the right of the rear line for the attack. Although nothing could exceed the silence and attention of the troops, the enemy's advanced sentries discovered the right column before they passed Forbes's barrier, and after challenging, fired upon them. Lieutenant Colonel Hugo, finding they were alarmed, immediately formed the attacking corps, and pushed on at a brisk pace for the extremity of the parallel; there finding no opposition, he took possession, and the pioneers began to dismantle the works. Part of Hardenberg's regiment, which was attached to this column, mistook the route of the grenadiers, owing to the darkness of the morning; and in pursuing their

own, found themselves, before they discovered their error, in front of the St. Carlos's battery. In this dilemma, no other alternative offered but pressing forwards, which they gallantly did, after receiving the enemy's fire. Upon mounting the parapet, the enemy precipitately retreated, and with great difficulty they descended the stupendous work, forming with their left to the tower. They were thus situated, when Lieutenant-Colonel Dachenhausen, at the head of the 39th flank companies, entered the St. Carlos's battery, and naturally mistaking them for his opponents, fired, and wounded several. Further mischief was, however, prevented by the countersign; and the Hanoverians joined the remainder of their corps, which now formed *en potence*, in front of the parallel. The 73rd flank companies were equally successful in their attacks; and Lieutenant-Colonel Trigge, with the grenadiers, and light company of the 72nd regiment, carried the gun batteries with great gallantry. The ardour of the assailants was irresistible. The enemy on every side gave way, abandoning in an instant, and with the utmost precipitation, those works which had cost them so much expense, and employed so many months to perfect.

When our troops had taken possession, the attacking corps formed, agreeably to their orders, to repel any attempt which the enemy might make to prevent the destruction of the works, whilst the 12th regiment took post in front of the St. Carlos's battery, to sustain the western attack: and the reserve, under Major Maxwell, drew up in the farther gardens. The exertions of the workmen and artillery were wonderful. The batteries were soon in a state for the fire-faggots to operate; and the flames spread with astonishing rapidity into every part. The column of fire and smoke which rolled from the works, beautifully illuminated the troops and neighbouring

objects, forming altogether a *coup-d'œil* not possible to be described.

In an hour the object of the sortie was fully effected; and trains being laid to the magazines, Brigadier Ross ordered the advanced corps to withdraw, and the sustaining regiments to cover their retreat: but, by some oversight, the barrier at Forbes's was locked, after the flank companies had returned; which might have proved of serious consequences to Hardenberg's regiment, as they were, from that circumstance, under the necessity of following the 12th regiment through Bayside barrier.*

Several small quantities of powder took fire whilst the detachment was on its retreat; and just as the rear had got within the garrison, the principal magazine blew up with a tremendous explosion; throwing up vast pieces of timber, which, falling into the flames, added to the general conflagration. Although the enemy must have been early alarmed, not the smallest effort was made to save or avenge their works. The fugitives seemed to communicate a panic to the whole; and, instead of annoying our troops from the flanking forts, their artillery directed a ridiculous fire towards the town and our upper batteries, whence we continued a warm and well-served discharge of round shot on their forts and barrier. Only 2 officers and 16 privates were taken prisoners; and little opposition being made, very few were killed in the works. The guard, from the best information, consisted of 1 captain, 3 subalterns, and 74 privates, including the artillery.

* It was not a little singular, that these two regiments, which at the memorable battle of Minden had fought by each other's side, and, according to the natural course of events, could never expect to meet again, should be employed a second time on the same occasion, and be the only entire regiments out.

Thus was this important attack executed beyond the most sanguine expectations of every one. The event challenges greater admiration, when we reflect that the batteries were distant near three-quarters of a mile from the garrison, and only within a few hundred yards of a besieging enemy's lines, mounting 135 pieces of heavy artillery.

The detachment had 4 privates killed; Lieutenant Tweedie, of the 12th regiment, with 24 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded; and 1 missing, supposed to be left wounded on the batteries. Of this number, Hardenberg's regiment had 2 killed and 12 wounded. The ordnance spiked in the enemy's works amounted to ten 13-inch mortars and eighteen 26-pounders.

General Eliott's anxiety on the occasion would not permit him to wait the issue within the garrison; but, acquainting the lieutenant-governor with his intention, he accompanied the sortie, and expressed the highest approbation of their behaviour by the following public orders: that "the bravery and conduct of the whole detachment, officers, sailors, and soldiers, on the glorious occasion, surpassed his utmost acknowledgments."

Although the attack was not totally exempted from those little derangements which naturally attend night expeditions of this nature, yet, to the honour of the whole, neither musket, working-tool, nor other implement, was left behind: a volunteer indeed of the 73rd regiment lost his kilt in the attack, which the governor being acquainted with, promised him a substitute in return; and not long afterwards presented him with a commission in an established corps. When our troops entered the batteries, the written report of the commanding officer was found in one of the splinter-proofs, which, when the guard was

relieved, was intended to have been sent to the Spanish general. The report expressed that "nothing extraordinary had happened," which, it must be acknowledged, the captain had been a little premature in writing.

Before the detachment returned from the neutral ground, Lieutenant-Colonel Tovey, of the artillery, died. He was succeeded by Major Lewis in the command of that department.

The night of the 27th, the enemy were alarmed with an explosion in the ruins of our batteries; and immediately directed a smart discharge of musketry, with round and grape-shot, toward the spot. We imagined they suspected that we had made a second sally, to finish the destruction of what remained; and their error probably would have continued some time, had they not been undeceived by our throwing a shell amongst the ruins; after which they instantly ceased. By the number of lights seen in their camp, we had reason to conclude that their army assembled on the alarm. The enemy had not yet thought proper to take any measures toward extinguishing the flames, but avenged themselves by a brisk cannonade upon the town. In their camp several men were executed, who probably might be some of the unfortunate actors in the late disgrace. The 30th, their batteries continued burning in five different places: when they ceased to smoke, the works seemed completely destroyed; nothing but heaps of sand remaining. Five dismounted mortars could be seen in the St. Carlos's battery from the summit of the Rock; one gun also in St. Paschal's, and three in the St. Martin's. At night we fired several rounds of grape at their horse-patrols, which, since their late misfortune, appeared more numerous than before.

CHAPTER VI

The Spaniards for several days appeared totally at a loss how to act after their recent disgrace. Their batteries continued in flames, nor were any attempts made to extinguish the fire. In the beginning of December, however, they seemed as if suddenly roused from their reverie; upwards of 1,000 men were at work making fascines, etc., for which purpose large quantities of brushwood were collected from the country. From these operations we concluded that they were resolved to restore their works, when sufficient materials were prepared.

The 1st of December, a flag of truce brought letters from the English prisoners lately captured in the cutters bound to the garrison. Not a syllable was mentioned by the Spanish officer of the late transaction; nor did he even inquire whether we had taken any prisoners. As we had observed the enemy to post strong guards in the stone guard-houses on the neutral ground, particularly in the centre one, the governor ordered the artillery to endeavour to dislodge them. Answers were returned, on the 2nd, to the letters brought the preceding day: letters also were sent from the prisoners taken in the sortie to their friends in camp. The Spanish officer, on receiving the letters, appeared much surprised, put them in his pocket, but was silent; and the boats parted. One of the officers taken prisoner was the Baron Von Helmstadt, an ensign in the Walon guards, with the

rank of captain: the other was Don Vincente Freese, a lieutenant of artillery. The baron was dangerously wounded in the knee, and, not without many entreaties, submitted to amputation. When the surgeons first informed him that this operation was absolutely unavoidable, he resolutely opposed it: amputation, he said, very seldom succeeded in Spain; besides, he was then betrothed in marriage to a lady, and would rather risk his life than present himself before her with only one leg. The governor, being told this determination, immediately visited the baron, and used every argument to persuade him to comply. His mistress, the general said, must undoubtedly esteem him the more for the honourable wound which he had received in the service of his country; and, as to the operation being fatal, he might almost assure himself of a certain recovery, since, in the many similar cases which had occurred in the garrison during the siege, our surgeons had been generally successful; and to convince him by ocular proof, ordered several mutilated convalescents into the room. This generous attention of the governor had a powerful effect on the baron, who, no longer able to resist his importunities, at length consented to the operation. The enemy, the night of the 3rd, repaired the damage done to the third branch of approach; and did some trifling work at the fourth branch. The next day a flag of truce from the enemy brought letters of thanks from the Spanish general, Don Martin Alvarez, and the Walon guards, to the governor, for the humanity shown to the prisoners taken in the batteries. In the boat came some poultry for the wounded baron; also clothes and money for the officers. Their guards in the lines now appeared to be about 800 infantry, with 100 artillery; besides 60 or 70 cavalry for patrols. The governor, on the 5th, ordered that "no officer of

the line, commanding at a post, should interfere in the mode of loading, pointing, or firing the cannon. If at any time he judged it necessary to fire upon the enemy, he was to point out the object to the artillery, and submit it to their opinion, whether it was practicable or not." The morning of the 7th, a cutter appeared from the west, and, after an obstinate action with the enemy's gun-boats, was obliged to strike. In this engagement we observed that the enemy had made some alterations in the construction of their boats, which before would not allow the guns to be depressed.

Notwithstanding our fire, the enemy seemed determined to establish themselves at the centre stone guard-house, round which, on the night of the 7th, they made a trench, and also lined with fascines part of the fourth branch of approach. Our firing continued to vary as their operations were more or less noticed; in the day we directed it principally to parties observed near the tower, and at night to the centre guard-house; against which they had heaped up sand, and continued every evening to make other additions. The garrison at this period was so extremely sickly, that a hundred men were curtailed from the working parties; and the officers' servants, with others who usually were exempted from these duties, were ordered to assist, to lessen the fatigue of their comrades. Near 700 were at this time on our hospital lists.

The *Unicorn* cutter sailed, in the night of the 12th, with dispatches for England; and the following evening, the *Phœnix*, with duplicates.

The operations of the enemy seemed now entirely defensive. The western stone guard-house on the beach was unroofed in the same manner as the centre guard-house, and strengthened with sand; with a trench dug round at some distance in the front. We

imagined that strong guards were stationed every night at these posts, to protect their remaining works. The evening of the 16th, about 10 o'clock, one of the enemy's advanced sentries, near Bayside, fired his musket ; which was taken up by others in the gardens, and the alarm spread to the lines, and thence to the camp. Lights were immediately observed moving about, and the drums beat to arms. After some hours' confusion they were calm and quiet. Their works, particularly the St. Paschal's battery, continued to smoke in several places, on the 18th. No ordnance could now be seen in any of the batteries : their fire was rather smart, but no particular object seemed to engage their notice.

Brigadiers Ross and Green were appointed, in the orders of the 20th, to be major-generals in the army ; and the next evening General Ross sailed in a boat for Faro, on his return to England. General Green some time afterwards received a letter of service, and Lieutenant Holloway, his brigade-major, was appointed his *aide-de-camp*. The same day a flag of truce brought over several letters, with money and clothes for the prisoners. At night, the enemy extended the fourth branch in the same direction, toward the western stone guard-house ; and several pickets were driven, and fascines laid in the ruins of the batteries, in order to retain the sand, and prevent it being washed down by the rains. The night of the 23rd they raised an epaulment on the top of the centre guard-house, and finished the first line of the new approach from the fourth branch.

Two soldiers of Hardenberg's and the 72nd regiment, on the 25th, attempted to desert by a rope from Mount Misery : the former got down, though the rope broke ; which accident was the cause of the latter being re-taken. A few days after, a sergeant of the

artificers was ordered to reconnoitre the place where this deserter descended; and he got down far enough to discover the unfortunate man dashed to pieces at the foot of the precipice. The night of the 27th the enemy made several additions to the centre guard-house. The Baron Von Helmstadt being dangerously ill about this period (not in consequence of the amputation he had undergone, but from some inward malady), flags of truce were daily passing and repassing to inform his friends of his dangerous situation. The 28th, the baron died; and the following day his body was carried to the New Mole, accompanied by the grenadiers of the 12th regiment, with the usual honours of war, where two barges waited to convey it to the enemy's camp. The governor, and principal officers in the garrison, with Don Vincente, attended the ceremony. The fowls and other refreshments sent by his friends, with the money not used by the baron in his sickness, were also returned, to the most minute article.

The enemy, on the night of the 30th, added to the trench in front of the centre guard-house, which, a few evenings before, they had altered from its original form. Our engineers the same night erected a blind of canvas, etc., in front of Princess Anne's battery (Willis's), which the engineers afterwards caissoned, when their fire became less warm on this new object. Another was afterwards placed before the Princess Amelia's, for the same purpose. The materials with which the works at the northward were now repaired, were collected from the coal-ships that had been run ashore in the New Mole after Admiral Darby's departure. The sides of these vessels were cut up, under the direction of the engineers, into large solid pieces, of such form and dimension as the purpose dictated to which they were to be applied. Of these

materials the batteries at Willis's were at this time formed; the angles being connected and secured by strong knees and bolts having transverse pieces within, which were also kneed. When the caissons for the merlons were thus framed, they were filled in the front with layers of junk, and sand-bags behind. The height of the merlons was between 10 and 11 feet; and the upper parts were supported by strong beams across the embrasures, forming *hoods* (as the engineers called them) over the muzzles of the cannon: these hoods were 3 feet deep, and extended about 6 feet in length over the embrasures; by which improvements the guns were preserved from being broken by the shells in their descent, and the artillery-men on duty were well covered. The solid construction of these new works, and the adoption of a similar mode in repairing the other defences of the garrison, will account, in a great measure, for the general casualties of the troops not being so numerous as might otherwise be expected; and, to evince the permanence of them, no other proof, I imagine, need be adduced, than that upward of 100 shot-holes have been plugged up in front of one merlon, and yet the battery was not materially damaged.*

Two ordnance-ships arrived in the course of December. As we are now arrived at the close of the year, it may not be impertinent to insert a return

* When the enemy's proceedings afterwards rendered some alterations necessary in the works at Willis's, the ship timber was found very useful in further securing the upper batteries, and in protecting our artillery. The height of the parapets permitted the engineers to erect splinter-proofs between the guns, of curved pieces of timber cut from the bottom of a ship, which were placed against the breasts of the merlons, and made bomb-proof by layers of sand-bags, which also formed a traverse across the battery. By these additions the communications between the ordnance were covered, and the batteries well traversed against the enemy's eastern enfilade-fire.

of casuals, from the 12th of April to the 31st of December, 1781, that the reader may have an idea of our general loss in that period.

	Officers.	Sergts.	Drumrs.	Rank & File.	Total.
Killed and dead of wounds .	3	10	1	108	122
Disabled	2	7	1	36	46
Wounded	13	22	6	359	400

The New Year's day of 1782 was remarkable for an action of gallantry which is worthy of being rescued from oblivion. An officer of artillery at Willis's, observing a shell falling towards the place where he stood, got behind a traverse for protection; which he had scarcely done, ere it fell into the traverse, and instantly entangled him in the rubbish: one of the guard, named Martin, observing his distress, generously risked his own life in defence of his officer, and ran to extricate him; but, finding his own efforts ineffectual, called for assistance; when another of the guard joining him, they relieved the officer from his situation; and almost at the same instant the shell burst, and levelled the traverse to the ground. Martin was afterwards promoted, and rewarded by the governor, who at the same time told him "he should equally have noticed him for relieving his comrade." Several similar instances of heroism occurred during the siege, all of which were equally honourable to the garrison.

The enemy persevered in carrying on their works; the centre guard-house now began to assume a regular figure. The ditch formed three sides of a hexagon, extending to the rear in obtuse angles with the front; and the fascine parapet, joining the building, was lengthened each way. Materials continued to be daily brought down to the lines and advanced

works. Their workmen were, however, considerably annoyed, in repairing the fourth and fifth branches of the approach, from the Old Mole head and Montague's bastion. The ship *St. Philip's Castle*, in government service, arrived on the 4th from Mahon, with dispatches from General Murray: on board her came several prisoners taken by that general in a sally made from Fort St. Philip's. The enemy endeavoured to cut her off from the bay, but could not accomplish it. She returned to Minorca on the 10th. Since their army had landed at Minorca, the enemy's attention to the eastward was visibly abated; nor did they make so many signals from the tower on the Queen of Spain's Chair as had been their custom formerly. The subsequent evening, our prames made the signal for the approach of the gun-boats: an easterly wind, however, springing up, they threw up their rockets, and retired. We could not otherwise account for their not firing in an easterly wind, than by imagining they were apprehensive of some accident in their magazines, which, being in the stern of the boat, might run some danger of being blown up by the sparks from the discharge of their ordnance. The night of the 7th, beside making additions to the centre guard-house, the enemy debouched from the fifth branch, and dug a trench about fifteen or twenty yards towards the east. A court of inquiry, on the 8th, sat on Antonio Juanico, the spy who was discovered in the Faro boat; and some time afterwards he was ordered to prepare for execution. The governor, however, at last pardoned him.

The enemy, about this time, removed several guns from the camp to the lines, taking others back. Most of their cannon (we had reason to imagine for some time past) had been greatly damaged by the firing; as the shot, at periods, were observed not to fly with

the same velocity as at first. The last deserter said they had spoiled three sets of guns from the commencement of the bombardment. In the night of the 9th, they raised the epaulment joining the centre guard-houses and opened four embrasures, two on each side of the building. They were all masked with fascines, and appeared solely for defence. The night of the 12th, the enemy formed a trench from the *débouchure* of the fifth branch, to the front of the ruins of the St. Carlos's battery, toward the western beach: part of it was lined with fascines. They also raised a *place d'armes* on the east flank of the St. Carlos's battery, joining the fifth branch. At night sailed the *Henry* and *Mercury* ordnance-ships to the westward. Don Vincente Freese went passenger in the former for England, with the prisoners taken in our sortie, and those sent by General Murray. About the 14th or 15th, the enemy raised another *place d'armes* on the west flank of the St. Carlos's battery, and joining the ruins of the St. Paschal's battery; and the subsequent evening strengthened and capped it with fascines. In the night, signals were made in the Gut, and at daybreak two cutters appeared at the entrance of the bay; but the wind blowing somewhat northerly, and dying away, they were driven to leeward by the current: a frigate and eleven gun-boats from Algeziras immediately gave chase, and soon after they were joined by a frigate and xebeque from Ceuta. The cutters finding it impossible to make the bay, and observing the force of their pursuers, prudently crowded sail to the eastward. In the afternoon some of the gun-boats got within range, and a few rounds were exchanged; but the wind freshening towards sunset, the cutters evidently left the enemy considerably astern. When night prevented us from continuing our observations,

they had indeed gained such a distance, that we did not in the least doubt but they would escape.

The enemy had made, for several preceding evenings, considerable additions to the centre redoubt; and on the night of the 17th, they raised a work embracing each extremity of the fascine-ditch which was in the front of it: this post now appeared finished. They likewise raised and threw sand in front of the *place d'armes*, and brought vast quantities of different materials to their advanced works. Their firing was not at this period remarkable; but as they directed their ordnance principally among our working parties on the hill, we experienced a few casualties. Our batteries in return were well served; and the fire pointed to all quarters. In the morning of the 18th, just after gun-firing, signals were made from the enemy's advanced works, which were repeated to their camp. The batteries at the same time kept up a brisk fire, all in a low direction. This gave us reason to think they were apprehensive of another sortie: and the following morning the four embrasures in the centre redoubt were unmasked, and animated with four howitzers; and a considerable number of troops left the lines soon after daybreak: all which circumstances served to countenance our conjecture. In the evening of the 20th, the artillery at Willis's discovered a party of the enemy erecting a line of communication from the fourth branch to the centre redoubt. The Old Mole head and Montague's were immediately opened on them in addition to the upper batteries; and we plied them so briskly, that the party was obliged to retire about midnight, leaving the work, as the morning evinced, in great confusion. The subsequent night, notwithstanding our fire, they raised and strengthened the new communication. In this duty they were well covered by a brisk fire from

the lines; and which, from the repeated volleys discharged, afforded room to think that their workmen had suffered materially the night before.

The night of the 23rd they repaired the parapet of the St. Carlos's battery nine fascines in height, and began to rebuild the magazine in the rear. Great quantities of fascines, etc., were in and about the battery. The succeeding afternoon, about four o'clock, the governor opened the lower batteries on this work, and our fire was exceedingly well served for some hours. The carcasses several times set fire to the fascines, but the enemy as frequently extinguished it. At first their batteries returned our fire sparingly; but receiving a reinforcement of artillerymen from the camp, the cannonade became warm on both sides. Our lower batteries ceased in the evening. The next day the governor renewed his endeavours to burn these works. The carcasses were equally successful as the preceding day, but their guards and workmen soon extinguished the fire. The Spanish lines returned the cannonade with great vivacity, having in the twenty-four hours discharged 1,045 shot and 83 shells: our batteries diminished their fire about four in the afternoon. The carcasses used by the artillery on this occasion were made of the enemy's blind shells, in which were perforated three large holes, and the cavity filled with composition. They were found to answer extremely well; some of them burning fresh a quarter of an hour after the enemy had smothered them with sand, which was the mode they adopted to put them out.

We observed, on the 27th, four large piles of fascines at the eastern extremity of the parallel. We were not at all at a loss to guess their meaning in placing these fascines to the eastward; as it was evident that they wished to draw off our attention as

much as possible from the St. Carlos's battery. The manœuvre did not, however, answer. The following evening, about 10 o'clock, arrived the two cutters, which had been pursued by the enemy's cruisers to the eastward: the largest of them, called the *Viper*, was of 460 tons burthen, mounted 28 guns, and was esteemed the largest vessel of her kind ever built; the other was the *Lively*, of 14 guns; both laden with ordnance stores. They informed us that the evening of the day they were chased through to the east, several of the gun-boats got up and engaged them, but were soon beaten off; at length the wind freshening, the boats were left astern. The breeze, they said, increased to a brisk gale, which, as the gun-boats were some leagues from land, might greatly distress them. This conjecture appeared confirmed, by none of them being observed to have returned to the bay. The night of the 28th, the enemy took down half of the old tower, or windmill, which they probably thought was too conspicuous an object of direction for our artillery in the night: they added also considerably to the St. Carlos's battery, and made some alterations in the centre redoubt, which they palisaded in the rear, and within it hung a barrier gate. The same night, arrived the *Dartmouth Tartar* cutter with stores. The night of the 30th, our opponents were observed very busy to the eastward of the centre redoubt. We instantly opened upon them, and drove them from the place. At daybreak we found they had traced out a work of five sides, with a large opening in the rear, and erected before it a screen similar to ours at Willis's, but so injudiciously placed, that the workmen behind were not at all concealed from our upper batteries. This work was never carried on; and the screen some time afterwards was knocked down, and removed. Our engineers, of whom little

has been mentioned for some time, were indefatigable in repairing the splinter-proofs, magazines, traverses, and communications, along the north front, which were damaged by the enemy's fire: the King's, Queen's, and Prince's lines had likewise a share in their attention. Parties were also engaged in securing and repairing the skeleton traverses, formed of timber and sand-bags in front of the doors, windows, etc., of the powder-magazines near the New Mole; and deposits of fascines, sand, and other materials, were collected in different parts of the garrison.

In the beginning of February, great numbers of mules continued bringing fascines, etc., to the enemy's lines; and, by the number of gabions missing from their fascine park, it was thought they had concealed them in different parts of the approaches for new works. The St. Carlos's battery appeared nearly completed: it consisted of an epaulment with two shoulders; five dodging traverses were erected in the rear, and behind them two larger ones for magazines: the latter, however, were not of the same form as those erected before. A gate was also hung at the opening of the fifth branch, and the *places d'armes*, on each flank of the battery, seemed finished. Part of the parallel joining the fifth branch, in extent about 40 yards, was likewise lined with fascines, and repaired. In this state were their works near the tower, when, on the night of the 2nd, they restored the western part of the St. Martin's battery, making only five embrasures to open upon the town and Water Port. Our firing was pretty smart at this period; but their artillery did not exceed 100 or 150 rounds in the twenty-four hours.

In this tedious and uninteresting manner affairs proceeded; every night the besiegers making some trifling addition to their advanced works. The

afternoon of the 7th, one of their shells set fire to a magazine-box on the Queen's battery (Willis's), in which were a few loaded small shells and cartridges. These instantly blew up, and fired an adjoining gun, but did not the smallest injury to the officers, or any of the guard, though the former were close to it when the accident happened. On hearing the explosion, the enemy immediately increased their fire, and continued it the remainder of the evening. The enemy added, on the night of the 10th, another embrasure to the new battery; and two nights following, they prolonged the parallel about 40 yards to the eastward. Vast quantities of materials were at this time scattered in various parts of their works.

The afternoon of the 15th, some practice was made from a gun mounted upon a new-constructed depressing carriage, the invention of Lieutenant Koehler, of the Royal Artillery, which was highly approved of by the governor and other officers present. The gun was fixed in a bed of timber, the underside of which was a plane parallel to the axis of the piece: from this bed, immediately under the centre of gravity, projected a spindle eight inches in diameter. This spindle passed through a groove formed for its reception in a plank, the upper side of which was also a plane: upon this under-piece the bed and gun recoiled, being attached to it by a key passing through the spindle. The bed and gun by these means were at liberty to move round upon the axis of the spindle, and when fired, slided upon the under plank in the line directed by the groove. The under-piece was then connected, by a strong hinge in front, to two cheeks of a common garrison carriage, cut down to be little higher than the trucks. The gun could be laid to any degree of depression under 20 degrees, by a common quoin resting upon the cheeks of the carriage;

but when greater depression was necessary, two upright timbers, with indented steps, were fixed to the cheeks; by which, with the assistance of a movable plank, to slide in upon the steps, and a quoin, the back part of the plank, upon which the gun slided, was elevated at pleasure by iron pins in the uprights; and the gun depressed to any angle above 20 and under 70 degrees.

Many advantages, beside that of immediate depression, resulted to the artillery from this invention The carriage, when the gun was depressed, seldom moved; the gun sliding upon the plank to which the bed was attached by the spindle, and returning to its former place with the most trifling assistance. When the shot was discharged, and the bed with the gun had recoiled to the extremity of the groove, the matross, by turning round the gun to lie horizontally across the carriage (which was done with the greatest facility), was also enabled to load under cover of the merlon, unexposed to the enemy's fire, and avoided the difficulty of ramming the shot upwards. It equally allowed the gun to be fired at point blank; and (by turning the muzzle to the back part of the carriage) at every elevation, to 45 degrees, but in that state did not particularly excel. As to the accuracy of the depressing shot, no further proof need be adduced, than that, out of 30 rounds, 28 shot took place in one traverse in the St. Carlos's battery, at the distance of near 1,400 yards.

A polacre had arrived on the 15th; and on the 17th, came in the *Flyingfish* cutter, with ordnance stores: the latter was opposed, and engaged in the bay by a frigate, a xebeque, and three gun-boats; but got in, by perseverance and superior skill, without a single man killed or wounded. At night, a party of the enemy was discovered at the eastern extremity of

new battery. The morning of the 20th, 10 gun-boats returned to Algeziras from the east: they were supposed to be the same which had chased the *Viper* and *Lively* cutters. Intelligence from Portugal mentioned that several of them had been lost in the gale which sprung up the same evening: we were rather disappointed therefore to see so many return. In the evening the *Viper*, *Lively*, and *Dartmouth Tartar* cutters, sailed for England. About the time of their departure, a traverse in the St. Carlos's was set on fire by our artillery, which produced a smart cannonade for some hours. The succeeding day, another traverse was set on fire, and burnt for some time. The enemy also behaved with great spirit on these occasions. The night of the 21st they completed their gun battery, which now presented to us 13 embrasures: they likewise repaired the damage done by the fire.

About noon on the 23rd, several signals were made at Cabrita Point, which brought out a frigate and a xebeque from Algeziras. Soon after, we observed a vessel standing into the bay with a flowing sail. The xebeque passed her astern; but the frigate bore down, and appeared as if she intended to board. The vessel, however, in coming abreast, threw in so well-directed a broadside, that the Spaniard was greatly confused, and fell astern. The frigate afterwards wore, and returned the salute; but the vessel was at such a distance that no damage was received. On her arrival at the New Mole, to our surprise we found her to be the *Mercury* ordnance ship, which had left the bay in January, and, as we imagined, was bound to England. Several inhabitants, supposing the same, had taken their passage on board her for England; and never discovered their mistake, till, to their great mortification, they found, on their

entrance into the Straits, the unpleasant shores of Spain and Barbary, instead of the exhilarating coast of Britain. Captain Heington, who commanded her, on leaving the garrison, had secret orders to put into Lisbon, where he was to take in a cargo of various articles, and return, which orders he had directions not to divulge to any person, lest the enemy, by their emissaries, should get information of the plan, and waylay him in his voyage back. He accordingly put into Lisbon, and took in his cargo of wine and fruit. When everything was completed, he pretended some further business would still delay him, and pressed the passengers to embrace the opportunity of the packet, and sail for England. They, however, approved of their accommodation too well to remove; and Captain Heington was reluctantly obliged to bring them back to the garrison. The governor did not suffer the gallant conduct of Captain Heington to pass unrewarded, but generously presented him with a handsome douceur, and strongly recommended him to the Admiralty for promotion; which accordingly succeeded. On the afternoon in which the *Mercury* arrived, the enemy fired a grand *feu-de-joie* in camp, commencing with a salute from the lines. They repeated the fire a fourth time; which led us to imagine they had gained some advantage at Minorca; and we afterwards found that our apprehensions had been too well founded.

The enemy's ships in the bay were reinforced on the 24th and 25th with a frigate, four or five xebeques, and several armed settees: part of which probably had been employed to block up the port of Mahon. The morning of the 25th, arrived the *St. Ann*, ordnance-ship, with a supply of powder, and two gun-boats, on a new construction, in frames. We were informed by her that the *Vernon* store-ship,

under convoy of a frigate, was on her passage for Gibraltar, with ten other gun-boats on board. The following morning we observed the enemy had entirely new-faced the eastern epaulment, and raised it to the height of eight fascines. They also worked on the magazine of the St. Martin's battery, and debouched from the centre of the parallel, throwing up a trifling line extending towards the south-west. The 27th, four rows of ten tents each were pitched in the rear of the Catalonian camp. We imagined they were occupied by the artillery cadets. At night the enemy added several traverses to their 13-gun battery. Beside the arrivals already noted, three other vessels and several boats came in in the course of the month.

The 1st of March a flag of truce went to the enemy, in answer to one from them some days before. The Spanish officer who received the packet informed us that Fort St. Philip, in Minorca, had surrendered on the 5th of February. The succeeding day, a carcass set fire to the enemy's 13-gun battery, which continued blazing for two hours. On their attempting to extinguish the fire, we plied them so briskly, that several were killed and most of them driven from their work; but their usual gallantry at last prevailed. At night they raised a *place d'armes* at the western extremity of the 13-gun battery. These defensive works demonstrated that they were determined to provide as much as possible against another sortie. The following night they repaired the damage done by the fire. The carpenters of the navy, on the 4th, laid the keel of one of the new gun-boats. The 6th, six rows of tents, ten in each row, were pitched in the rear of the second line of the enemy's camp, near the horse-barrack. A large party was also employed in making a road

from the beach to the barrack, and others were engaged in landing shells and different ordnance. These, with other appearances, bespoke a determined resolution to prosecute the siege. Our governor, on the other hand, with unwearied attention employed the garrison in repairing, and putting in the best order of defence, the upper batteries, and other works which had suffered from the continued bombardment of the enemy. The bridge in the ditch at Land Port was likewise pulled down, and other alterations took place in that quarter. The enemy, on the 8th, raised one face of the eastern redoubt several fascines in height; and from the noise heard the preceding night, we imagined they also finished platforms in their batteries. The day following, Lieutenant Cuppage, of the Royal Artillery, was dangerously wounded on the Royal battery, from a splinter of a small shell, which burst immediately after being discharged from the rock gun above and in the rear of the Royal battery: this was the second accident of the same nature. The 11th a frigate and xebeque passed to the west, with six top-sail vessels, supposed to be part of the late Minorca garrison. The night of the 13th the enemy traced out a work within the western *place d'armes* of the St. Carlos's battery, apparently with an intention of extending the epaulment. The firing on both sides was now considerably increased; that from the enemy amounted on an average to about 300 rounds in the twenty-four hours.

The operations of the besiegers still continued tedious. On the 16th they palisaded the gorge of the centre redoubt, and on the 18th began to pitch a new camp near the ground magazine on the beach. At night they erected the epaulment of St. Paschal's mortar battery, and raised three traverses in the rear. Lieutenant White, of the 56th, was slightly wounded

on the 16th. On the night of the 20th the St. Paschal's battery was raised three fascines. At night the wind blew so strong a gale, that the new windmill, on Windmill Hill, took fire from the violence of the friction, and was burnt to the ground. The 22nd the enemy made some trifling additions, and fixed a barrier-gate at the extremity of the fourth branch of approach. The subsequent evening, a little before midnight, we were gratified with the safe arrival of the Vernon store-ship, having on board the remaining ten gun-boats and other materials for the garrison. Some hours after, the *Cerberus* and *Apollo* frigates, Captains Mann and Hamilton, with four transports, having the 97th regiment on board, anchored under our guns.

The *Vernon's* arrival may be considered as truly fortunate, since no less than thirty Spanish men-of-war of different force were out purposely to intercept her and the *Success* frigate, Captain Pole, her convoy. Some leagues to the westward of the Straits they fell in with a 40-gun frigate, which had left our (blockade) station, and was one of the above-mentioned cruisers. A warm action consequently commenced; but the Spaniard, finding the *Vernon* well armed, and that she boldly bore down to support the *Success*, after an engagement of several glasses, in which the *Vernon* had a considerable share, thought proper to submit. On board the prize were found papers describing the *Vernon* to the most minute part of her rigging, at the same time mentioning the officers' names who were passengers, and every particular article of her cargo; and from the prisoners we learned the number of ships which were cruising to intercept her. Captain Pole afterwards burned the *Santa Catalina*, and separated from the *Vernon* on the appearance of the *Cerberus* with her convoy,

which he mistook for the enemy's cruisers. The *Vernon* therefore proceeded alone for the garrison, and, at the entrance of the Straits, in the evening, fell in with, and indeed was surrounded by, the enemy's ships; but, happily, the sky prognosticating a rough night, and she tacking at the same time they did, they supposed her a friend, and stood in for the high land; and at dusk she altered her course, and was soon safe in her destined port. Lieutenant-Colonel Gledstanes, of the 72nd regiment, and other officers, came in her as passengers, with recruits for the different regiments in the garrison. The next day the 97th regiment, commanded by Colonel Stanton, disembarked 700 complete, and were immediately quartered in Scud Hill and Rosia barracks. This regiment soon after became very sickly, and, though they were attended to with the greatest care by the governor and officers, in a few months many of them died, and the rest were of little assistance to the garrison before September.

The enemy, on the night of the 24th, were discovered, from Willis's, at work in the front of the epaulment, at the eastern extremity of the parallel; a few rounds of grape, however, quickly drove them under cover: they made several attempts to proceed, but were as constantly obliged to retire. The succeeding morning we observed they had employed parties in other parts of their works. The communication to the centre redoubt was raised, many traverses were erected behind the fourth approach, and a considerable quantity of fascines and other materials brought down to their works. In the forenoon of the 25th, the Spanish officers belonging to the *Santa Catalina*, who were brought to the garrison in the *Vernon*, were sent by a flag of truce into Spain on their parole. In the course of the day a shot came

through one of the capped embrasures on Princess Amelia's battery (Willis's), took off the legs of two men belonging to the 72nd and 73rd regiments, one leg of a soldier of the 73rd, and wounded another man in both legs; thus four men had seven legs taken off and wounded by one shot. The boy, who was usually stationed on the works where a large party was employed to inform the men when the enemy's fire was directed to that place, had been reproving them for their carelessness in not attending to him, and had just turned his head toward the enemy, when he observed this shot, and instantly called for them to take care; his caution was, however, too late; the shot entered the embrasure, and had the above-recited fatal effect. It is somewhat singular that this boy should be possessed of such uncommon quickness of sight as to see the enemy's shot almost immediately after they quitted the guns. He was not, however, the only one in the garrison possessing this qualification; another boy of about the same age was as celebrated, if not his superior. Both of them belonged to the Artificer company, and were constantly placed on some part of the works to observe the enemy's fire; their names were Richardson and Brand; the former was reputed to have the best eye.*

The night of the 25th, the enemy extended their

* These boys were afterwards patronised by some officers of their corps, and, being found quick and very intelligent, were placed in the engineer's drawing-room, and eventually obtained commissions in the corps of engineers. One of the works of these young men, while pursuing their studies at Woolwich, was to finish the large model of the Rock of Gibraltar, which formerly stood in the model-room there, and was much admired for beauty of execution and minute correctness. It was destroyed in the fire by which that building was consumed. Richardson and Brand both died of yellow fever in the West Indies.

parallel in a continued direction with the old work about 100 yards, with casks and fascines, banked up with sand in front. The succeeding evening, we perceived several guns in the St. Martin's battery; and it was imagined, that ordnance were brought forward for the other batteries. The night of the 26th, they began merlons for six embrasures in the eastern redoubt, two in each face opening on the Devil's Tower, Lines, and Old Mole: they also lengthened the parallel, and strengthened that part which was raised the preceding night. The 28th, they scaled several guns and mortars in the advanced batteries; and the following day, we concluded, they mounted all their ordnance, as their working parties gave a general huzza, and then withdrew for the day.

Our opponents at this time scarcely expended more than 200 rounds in the 24 hours; but we frequently saluted them with double that number in that period. The night of the 28th and 29th, the enemy lined with fascines the prolongation of the parallel, and erected five traverses in the eastern redoubt. Their batteries near the tower now appeared to be completed; the fourth month being just expired since they had been destroyed. The 31st, being a grand festival, our batteries were double manned, expecting the besiegers would open their advanced batteries; but not firing, the reinforcement was remanded at noon. In the evening, about six o'clock, a shell set fire to the flank of the eastern redoubt, and, the flame being assisted with a brisk discharge, burned rapidly for some hours: at last, however, the enemy extinguished it. The succeeding morning, we perceived that they had covered with sand the part which had taken fire, and a number of fascines were lying in great confusion about the work. The same night, a boat came in from Portugal with sheep,

oranges, lemons, and fowls: two others also arrived in the course of the month.

On the evening of the 1st of April, a soldier of the 39th regiment deserted from Land Port: several hundred rounds of musketry and grape were discharged at him, some of which it is imagined took effect, as he dropped just before he got to the St. Carlos's battery, and was carried into the work by seven of the guard. At dusk, a volunteer of Arragon came over to us: he brought his arms and some necessaries, which, with other circumstances, occasioned a suspicion of his being a spy. He reported that the enemy had suffered considerably in restoring their batteries; upward of 400 being killed, and nearly as many more wounded. The eastern redoubt, he informed us, was called the Mahon battery. The enemy, on the 2nd, began to pitch tents in rear of the Walon guards; they were afterwards increased to six double rows, capable of quartering a battalion of infantry.

As grates for heating shot were distributed on the different northern batteries in the beginning of this month, we imagined the governor intended applying red-hot shot against the enemy's works, which appeared now complete. We were, however, disappointed; they were still reserved as a *bonne bouche*, for the closing of the scene.

The night of the 5th, the enemy erected, at the extremity of the parallel, a *place d'armes*, of four sides, one of which was the parallel lengthened, the other three extending in obtuse angles to the rear. The 6th, Colonel Stanton was appointed a brigadier-general; and Captain Blanckley, of the 97th Regiment, his brigade-major. The 8th, we perceived some tents pitched upon the plain beneath the ruins of Carteia; and the following day this camp was increased with

five double rows of tents: a regiment in white took possession in the evening. The 9th, a regiment in blue marched into the new camp, pitched the 2nd of this month. The same day all the carpenters of the regiments in garrison (those of the 97th Regiment excepted) were ordered, with a hundred additional real-men into the King's works. At night the enemy made some alterations near St. Paschal's battery, and strengthened the *place d'armes* at the extremity of the parallel. The 10th, Lieutenant Wetham, of the 12th Regiment, was killed by a splinter of a shell, marching at the head of the spur-guard up the ramp, from Land Port ditch. His servant also lost his arm, and the drummer had his drum broken to pieces: but the rest of the guard escaped. This young officer being much liked, his death was much regretted; and it seemed particularly unfortunate, as the enemy only fired that fatal shell, and one shot, in the earlier part of the day.

A Faro boat arrived on the 11th from Portugal, with dispatches for the governor. A private letter, sent from Lisbon by this boat, communicated to us most important intelligence: it mentioned that great preparations were making at Cadiz, and in the Mediterranean ports, for a most vigorous attack on Gibraltar; and that the Duc de Crillon, who had lately taken St. Philip's, was to command with 20,000 French and Spanish troops, in addition to what were at present before the garrison; with Monsieur d'Arçon, a French engineer of great eminence and abilities; and Admiral Don Bonaventura Moreno, with 10 sail of the line, besides floating-batteries, gun and mortar boats, etc., etc. The truth of this intelligence we little doubted, as many circumstances now occurred daily that served to confirm it. The enemy's cannonade, in the course of the 12th, was singular indeed: from

six in the morning to sunset, they fired every two or three minutes a single gun or mortar; and being the anniversary of their bombardment, it appeared still more extraordinary. Some jocular persons in the garrison remarked, that perhaps they were commemorating the day with fasting and prayer, and by their minute-guns expressing their sorrow, that so many thousand barrels of powder, and rounds of ammunition, should have been expended to so little purpose. Their firing from the 12th gradually decreased, for about a week; when, for a few nights, they fired brisker than usual. It afterwards diminished to about a hundred rounds on an average in the twenty-four hours, and scarcely exceeded that number during the remainder of the month. Their fascine parties continued to be actively employed preparing materials in their parks; and long strings of mules were constantly removing them to the lines and advanced batteries. Throughout their camp new life seemed to be infused into the troops: instead of that inactive languor which had so long prevailed in all their operations, every person now appeared in motion.

The morning of the 16th we remarked that the enemy had repaired the eastern part of the Mahon battery, which had been burnt down the latter end of the preceding month. Some other trifling additions were also made to this work. The 20th arrived the *Antigallican* ordnance-ship from England. The nights of the 21st and 22nd the enemy's parties added some further repairs to the Mahon battery: they also raised a small work near the tower, and erected several traverses in various parts of the parallel. The 24th one of our new gun-boats, which had been launched on the 18th, was tried with an 18-pounder on board; and the practice met with the approbation of the governor and officers of the navy. As a person was

sent out in the *Vernon* to superintend their construction, the keels of several other boats after his arrival were immediately laid on the stocks; and the carpenters, being now acquainted with the marks, proceeded with confidence and expedition: four or five more, therefore, were in great forwardness. We observed about this time numbers of boats passing and repassing between Algeziras and Point Mala; and two ships in the river Palmones, which we imagined were fitting out as fire-ships: precautions were therefore taken to render them ineffectual, in case they resolved on another attempt to burn our frigates. The 25th, a little before daybreak, a deserter came in from the enemy: he was a native of Arragon, and comrade to the last: he confirmed our information from Lisbon respecting the intended attack, under the command of the Duc de Crillon; adding, that they had resolved to make the principal attack by sea; for which purpose large ships were to be fitted up in a peculiar manner with junk, cork, etc. The new camp, near Rocadillo Point, he said, was occupied by the regiment of Cordova infantry, lately arrived from Ceuta.

Though their camp had been considerably reinforced within the preceding six weeks, yet we could not observe that they had made any addition to their advanced guards, which continued to be about the same number as mentioned some months before. The 28th they raised the merlons of the Mahon battery with sand-bags. In the course of the day they brought down two guns from their artillery park to Fort Tonara, whither they had carried four the preceding day. The 30th they began laying platforms in the Mahon battery: on the same day we launched our second gun-boat. Seven more were on the stocks.

In the beginning of May the enemy repaired the west branch of the St. Carlos's, which fell down some time before, and made some alterations in the Black battery. Several hundred mules came likewise with clay to the lines. From seven in the evening of the 4th, to the same hour the succeeding afternoon, both the garrison and the enemy were silent. This was the first twenty-four hours in which there had been no firing for the space of nearly thirteen months.

The evening of the 7th the *Cerberus* and *Apollo* frigates, with four transports and four ordnance-ships, sailed for England. The succeeding morning we observed that three of the transports were captured, and, in company with the enemy's cruisers, were then turning to windward. In the afternoon of the 9th, a line-of-battle ship, with seven large vessels and a few polacres and tartans, arrived in the bay from the west, and anchored at Algeziras. At dusk the large vessels, which appeared to be the old men-of-war or galleons, hauled close in shore. The governor, at night, ordered a picket to reinforce Water Port guard. The enemy still continued discharging about a hundred rounds every twenty-four hours; and their parties as well as ours were employed in making trifling additions and repairs. The arrival of the above-mentioned shipping at Algeziras occasioned various conjectures; from many circumstances we had reason to imagine they were intended for the attack by sea, which was meditating against the garrison. The governor and chief engineer's attention consequently became engaged toward the sea-line: the beach behind the Old Mole was fortified with a row of sloping palisades; Water Port gateway was well barricaded, and a *chevaux-de-frise* ordered to be got ready to place at the foot of Land Port glacis: the ramp in the ditch was likewise removed; and those batteries on the

sea-line, which they conceived might probably be opposed to the enemy's attack, were inspected, and put in the best order of defence.

The enemy, about the 12th, removed and made a new arrangement of their ordnance in the forts and batteries along the coasts: we supposed they were changing them for others of a larger calibre. The 14th several of the large ships at Algeziras struck their yards and top-masts, and a great number of men appeared on board them; which movements left us no longer in doubt that they were intended to be fitted up as floating batteries for the grand attack: this opinion was confirmed in the afternoon, by their beginning to cut down the poops of two of them. The subsequent day three store-ships, the *Queen Charlotte*, *Leonora*, and *Charles*, arrived from England with powder, shells, bedding, and timber. Three gun-boats, on their appearance in the Gut, went from the point to speak them; but, the ships hoisting French colours, and standing for Algeziras, the boats were deceived, and returned: the false colours were soon after struck, and British displayed; and they arrived without opposition. The new gun-boats which were launched were on this occasion of particular service; and before night 1,900 barrels of powder were secured in our magazines. The enemy on the 17th opened thirteen large port-holes in the larboard side of one of the ships at Algeziras, and seven in another.

Their operations now in the advanced works almost totally ceased; their whole attention seemed occupied by the ships at Algeziras, and by arrangements in their camp. Cannon and a variety of military stores were landed beyond Point Mala, and a strong party was employed in erecting a large building near the landing-place, which we conjectured was for an

hospital. The firing on both sides varied as circumstances directed. Three men of the 58th regiment were missing on the 19th; and, a party being immediately sent in quest of them, their bodies were found dashed to pieces behind the Rock; the rope by which they were to have descended being many yards too short. The enemy were very active about their ships; eleven port-holes were opened in the side of a third; and, on the 21st, they began to strengthen their larboard sides with some materials which appeared like junk. The elasticity and resistance of this article rendered it very eligible for the purpose. On the land side they continued collecting brushwood from all parts of the country, and had strong parties at work making fascines. At the landing-place stores of every species were daily disembarked. On the other hand, the garrison, with unwearied assiduity, made various dispositions to repel their attack. The sloping palisades at Water Port by this time were finished, and the gateway barricaded, excepting a small passage for the wicket. To this post the governor seemed particularly to attend. The intentions of the enemy were no longer mysterious: every preparation was therefore made to give them a warm reception: an additional number of grates for heating shot were made and distributed along the line-wall; and the navy lowered their yards and topmasts, to be in readiness to act on shore at a moment's notice.

A privateer xebeque arrived on the 25th from Leghorn, with a Corsican officer and 12 privates, who came to offer their services as volunteers during the approaching attack; which the governor accepted, and ordered them to be entertained by different regiments till the others arrived, who, they informed us, were on their passage. In the evening a large building, to the east of the Catalonian camp, took

fire, and was totally consumed: it had formerly been a barrack, but was now, as the deserters informed us, a granary for forage and corn. We numbered at this time upward of 100 pieces of cannon in the artillery park of the enemy. The 25th the engineers began to mine a gallery from a place above Farringdon's battery (Willis's), to communicate through the rock to a notch or projection of the rock, below Green's Lodge, in which the governor proposed to make a battery. The 26th, another vessel arrived from Algiers, and brought letters, acquainting us that it was universally believed in Spain, that the garrison, from the magnitude of the preparations for the attack, inevitably must be taken before the end of July. The same day about noon a large fleet appeared from the east, upward of 100 sail of which we observed in the evening enter the bay, and anchor between the river Palmones and Algeziras. The succeeding morning we were enabled to make our observations on them: three were large and armed, one of them with a flag at her mizen: the rest were ships with troops on board, and small polacres and settees, supposed, from their appearance, to be laden with stores. In the course of the 27th, 28th, and 29th, they landed, it was imagined, about 12 battalions; which, calculated at about 750 to each battalion, amounted to about 9,000 men, if the regiments were complete. As the troops disembarked, they encamped in the rear of the second line, extending toward the horse-barrack now called Buena Vista, which, we understood from the last deserters, had been fitted up for the commander-in-chief's quarters: others of them occupied the ground on the left of the first line, and on the right of the Catalonians, in an obtuse direction up the hill toward the Queen of Spain's Chair. Large parties were detached to land the military stores.

A flag of truce came from the enemy on the 28th, with a letter from Mr. Anderson, a merchant who had left the garrison some days before, and had been taken on his passage to Faro. Before the purport of the flag was known, the governor, speaking to the officers near him, said "he supposed the duke was arrived, and had sent to summon the garrison; but he should give him a short answer, No,—no, and hoped the gentlemen" (addressing himself to the officers present) "would all support him." He had not, however, an opportunity of being so spiritedly laconic. The day following we perceived a new encampment between the Catalonians and the left of the first line, and great additions were made to those mentioned before. Six of their battering-ships were now in hand, and an universal activity was observed throughout their camp. The firing on both sides varied very little: if there were any difference in the number of rounds, the garrison had the advantage. Our engineers at this time were employed in repairing the damaged and uneven platforms on the sea-line batteries, and the artillery in disposing of the heavy ordnance where they would act with greater execution and effect. Scarce a day now passed but vessels of all denominations arrived in the bay, at the enemy's camp, the generality of which seemed laden with military stores and materials for the siege.

June did not commence with anything extraordinary. The 2nd Brigadier Stanton died of a *coup de soleil.* The enemy, the following day, pitched several large tents to the southward of Algeziras, for the accommodation of the workmen employed in fitting up their ships. The 4th, being His Majesty's birthday, the last of our new gun-boats was launched: and at noon the whole fired a salute, commencing with a salvo of 44 guns shotted, from the north front

of the garrison: the enemy's batteries instantly returned our land-fire, and in so smart a manner as to convince us they had prepared to retaliate. The following are the names of the gun-boats, and ships from which they were manned:—

From the "Brilliant" Frigate

Revenge	one 24-pounder		21 men
Defiance	„ 24	„	21 „
Resolution	„ 18	„	21 „
Spitfire	„ 18	„	21 „
Dreadnought	„ 18	„	21 „
Thunder	„ 18	„	21 „

From the "Porcupine" Frigate

Europa	one 24-pounder		21 men
Terrible	„ 18	„	21 „
Fury	„ 18	„	21 „
Scourge	„ 18	„	21 „
Terror	„ 18	„	21 „

From the "Speedwell" Cutter

Vengeance	one 18-pounder	21 men

On the 5th, three rows of double tents, ten in each row, were pitched near Barcelo's battery, at Algeziras. Mr. M'Gregor, a volunteer in the 73rd, was wounded the same day by a shell, of which article the enemy's artillery, within a day or two, had been more profuse than usual. The 6th, Captain Wideburg, of Reden's, was wounded in the Queen's lines. On the 7th, our artillery practised from the King's bastion, with red-hot shot, against the Irishman's brig, which was stranded at the back of the Old Mole. In the first round, whilst one of the artillery-men was putting in the shot, the fire by some means immediately communicated to the cartridge, and the unfortunate man was blown from the embrasure in some hundred pieces: two

others were also slightly wounded with the unexpected recoil of the carriage. The practice after this accident was discontinued. In the evening, a shell fell into a quarter in town, and carried away part of a chair, in which Ensign M'Kenzie, of the 73rd, was sitting: it immediately burst in the room below, and lifted him and the chair from the floor, without further injury.

The enemy's inactivity in their advanced batteries was sufficiently compensated by their diligence and celerity at Algeziras: six ships were now in great forwardness, and on the 10th they began upon another. Of this interval of tranquillity, as we may call it (though the enemy had not quite discontinued their fire), the governor took advantage, and employed it with indefatigable zeal in completing the works of the garrison. New batteries bearing on Water Port, which appeared to be his grand object of defence, were opened in the Moorish castle; a caissoned battery was also erected at Upper Forbes's and some alterations made in the lines; movable palisades, with casks of earth, sand, etc., were distributed in various parts along the line-wall, to be ready in case a breach should be effected; and the outworks at Land Port underwent some advantageous alterations. Two or three men about this time attempted to desert; but they were all retaken.

On the 11th between ten and eleven o'clock, an unlucky shell from the enemy fell through the splinter-proof, at the door of the magazine on Princess Anne's battery (Willis's), and bursting, communicated to the powder, which instantly blew up. The explosion was so violent as to shake the whole Rock, and throw the materials on both sides an almost incredible way into the sea. Three merlons on the west flank of the battery, with several unfortunate men who had run behind them for shelter, were forced down from the

level of the platforms into the Prince's lines, which, with the Queen's below, were almost filled with rubbish. Another magazine near it happily escaped, though the door was thrown open by the explosion. Our loss by this dreadful accident was chiefly among the workmen who were employed on the flank of the battery: 1 drummer, and 13 rank and file, were killed; 3 sergeants, 3 drummers, and 9 rank and file, wounded. Immediately after the report of the explosion, and on the appearance of the large column of smoke, the enemy gave a loud huzza; their drums beat to arms in the camp; and some persons aver that their first line assembled, and were actually on their march towards Fort St. Philip, but afterwards returned. As the engineers, after the accident, got together the remains of the party, to secure effectually the magazine which had so miraculously escaped, the enemy continued the cannonade the remainder of the day; and, as if fate was resolved at that particular time to sport with our anxiety, in the course of this firing two other shells fell upon the remaining magazine, and one into the very splinter-proof in front of the door. Happily the latter did not go through; for if it had, this magazine might have shared the fate of its neighbour, and the whole of the batteries at Willis's have probably been materially injured. Princess Anne's battery, the flank of it excepted, was not considerably damaged; the caissoned merlons were much shaken, and the battery filled with rubbish. However, before night the whole was cleared away, and several rounds fired from that battery, as well as from the other batteries, to convince the enemy that the misfortune was not of so much importance as they probably imagined. Indeed, from so dreadful an accident it was wonderful that the injury was not of greater consequence.

The navy, on the 13th, under the direction of the engineers, began to caisson the west face of the New Mole fort. About sunset, a soldier of the 58th regiment, who had lately joined in the *Vernon*, deserted from Land Port: at night a picket was ordered to reinforce that guard. The 14th, a French frigate, with 18 or 19 polacres, etc., arrived in the bay. The same afternoon, a xebeque, returning to Algeziras, from the east, stood in so close to the garrison, that she was perplexed by the eddy-winds, and remained a considerable time stationary. The garrison fired upon her, and the gun-boats were manned, and rowed out to attack her; but two of the enemy's boats, coming to her assistance, towed her head round; and soon after a breeze carried her out of all danger. If our boats had got out a little earlier, she might have been roughly handled; and some were sanguine enough to think she might have been taken.

As boats were constantly detached by the navy at nightfall, to row guard at some distance from the garrison, and give information of the approach of the gun-boats, or any other vessels, curiosity often prompted them to approach the enemy's shore; and for some preceding nights they reported, that they heard, at Algeziras, a noise like that of men hard at work; whence we concluded, their impatience to finish their battering ships made them embrace all opportunities, both by day and night. The 16th, a new camp was observed between the grand magazine and the Orange Grove. The battalion which occupied it were supposed to be disembarked from the small convoy which arrived on the 14th. At night, a noise of boats was distinctly heard from our prames, at some distance in the bay; it however ceased on a gun being fired towards that quarter. This circumstance occasioned new signals to be appointed for the prames.

The 97th regiment, on the 17th, for the first time, gave a picket of 40 men. The following day, Hardenberg's regiment was ordered, in case of an alarm, to act with the 58th at Europa, instead of marching to town. In the afternoon, a French convoy, of upwards of 60 sail, under 3 frigates, anchored in the bay, off the Guadaranque, from the east. As most of the ships had troops on board, we concluded it was the French reinforcement, of which we had received previous information. It proved to be a detachment from the French army, which had succeeded in the capture of Minorca a short time before. The following evening, several Spanish and French general officers, with their suites, visited the lines; where they remained, excepting one general, who, accompanied by an artillery-officer and an engineer, came forward to the advanced works, and stood some time in front of the St. Martin's battery. At this time a group of those who remained in the lines were assembled on the glacis: our artillery thought proper to give them a shot, which the general in the advanced works probably took as a hint to retire; for he immediately pulled off his hat, and returned into the battery. This circumstance served to confirm us in our conjectures that the reinforcement was French; and it was computed to be about 5,000 men. Soon after the above fleet arrived, 5 gun-boats approached very near the town, apparently out of bravado, to demonstrate to their new friends how contemptuously they considered us; but, a few rounds taking effect, they retired in great confusion, and most likely paid dear for their arrogance. The 20th and 21st, the French troops disembarked, and encamped to the east of the stone quarry, immediately under the Queen of Spain's Chair.

As affairs were daily becoming more interesting,

the sergeants, and such drummers of the garrison as were able, were ordered, in case of alarm, to turn out with firelocks and accoutrements; which were accordingly delivered to the different regiments from the grand store. The governor seemed determined to have no idle hands in the place at such a critical time. Musicians, who before had been exempted from duty, also returned to the use of the firelock and shovel.

The morning of the 21st, two Genoese, formerly inhabitants of the garrison, who had been taken by the enemy in a settee bound for Gibraltar, made their escape in a boat from a prison-ship at Algeziras. They informed us that the grand attack was fixed to be in September; but that all, both sailors and soldiers, were much averse to the enterprise. In the afternoon, two general officers again visited the lines; and we remarked their guards did not relieve at their usual hour, but probably came down after twilight. From the 19th to the 21st, the enemy's fire daily diminished; and on the 22nd, about five in the evening, their batteries were totally silent. This sudden cessation induced us to conclude that the Duc de Crillon had assumed the command of the combined army.

CHAPTER VII

The court of Madrid, whose whole attention seemed bent upon the recovery of Gibraltar, had hitherto found all her attempts, whether by sea or land, totally ineffectual, and the repeated disgrace which her arms had suffered could not fail to mortify her pride. The cruel and wanton destruction of the town had tended to no other purpose than to reflect dishonour on her measures in the eye of Europe. Pride and revenge, therefore, now urged her to the utmost exertions of her power and skill, so that no means were neglected, no expense was spared, to insure success. Her treasures were lavishly expended; the labour of the nation was exhausted in the magnitude of the preparations; and her whole naval and military force now appeared directed to the recovery of that natural and ancient appendage of the crown.

The Duc de Crillon, lately returned from the conquest of Fort St. Philip, who had formerly commanded at the Spanish lines before Gibraltar, and was perfectly acquainted with the situation of the garrison, was appointed to conduct the military force to be employed in this arduous and interesting enterprise. With him were joined Monsieur d'Arçon (a French engineer of great repute) and Admiral Moreno. The former had projected a plan, which had met with the approbation of his Most Catholic Majesty, for attacking the place with battering ships, constructed upon such principles that they were equally considered as

impregnable and *incombustible*; and, from the prodigious powers of which, little else was expected than almost the annihilation of the garrison: the latter had rendered himself equally eminent with the general in the preceding conquest of Minorca. Under commanders of such distinguished ability, aided by every combination of force which human invention could devise, we need not in the least wonder at the flattering idea, universally formed by the nation, of the event.

General Eliott, on the opposite side, unawed by the impending storm, provided for every circumstance which might occur. Though surrounded on every hand with enemies, and far distant from any hopes of relief and assistance, yet he reposed such confidence in the vigorous and united exertions of the little army under his command, whom he had already found superior to the greatest hardships, that he was not apprehensive of trusting the event to the decision of that fortune, which had been so often favourable to the interests of the garrison.

The 24th of June, the garrison began to practise parapet-firing, with ball, at casks placed at different distances in the bay. Two days following, the enemy's cannon were all under metal, and their advanced sentries and guards were reinforced. At Algeziras they still continued to work on seven ships: and in camp numerous parties were employed in landing great quantities of stores, and in ranging ordnance, etc., in their artillery park. Early on the morning of the 27th, the captain of the Queen's lines guard challenged two persons who had approached Forbes's barrier; one of whom, finding they were observed, cried out in French, "Don't fire!" after which, both instantly ran away toward the lines. In their retreat, one of them fell, and, his cloak coming unfolded,

our sentries could distinguish that his uniform was white; which circumstance, added to that of their speaking French, induced us to conclude they were officers of that nation. A person of distinction, supposed to be the Duc de Crillon, on the 30th, visited the lines and advanced works. Our artillery fired a shot over him and his suite, to show them that they were observed. At night, a soldier of the 56th, attempting to desert from the Signal House guard, was dashed to pieces in his descent. The next day his body was exposed as a public spectacle, to intimidate others from provoking a similar fate.

In the beginning of July, the tenth ship had been in hand two or three days; and the enemy's artificers were at work on the tops of those which were in the greatest forwardness, placing strong timbers, in form of a *dos d'âne*, to serve as bomb-proofs. At night they raised their parallel several fascines in height, and banked it up in front with sand. Though the enemy's batteries had continued silent since the 22nd of June, the garrison persevered in a brisk discharge, directing their fire to all parts of the lines, as well as the advanced works. The evening of the 2nd, a party of the enemy advanced to Bayside barrier; but several rounds of grape, which were fired from Willis's, soon forced them to retire. The succeeding evening they again attempted to take post there, and met with a similar reception. Our navy, under the direction of an engineer, about this time repaired the boom of Water Port, and sunk anchors in the shallow water at the back of the Old Mole. The enemy, though we expected it, never molested them in this duty: indeed, they seemed too intent upon their own operations to pay attention to any of ours.

The success attending our progress in the gallery

above Farringdon's battery, produced the idea of making a communication from the extremity of the King's to the Queen's lines; and, on the 6th, a party of miners began this new subterranean passage. Early the day following, a brig, coming in from the west, was taken by a xebeque and carried into Algeziras. If the master of this vessel had acted prudently, he might probably have escaped. On his first appearance, he coasted under French colours; but being abreast of the point, and observing a felucca standing out to speak him, he hoisted British, and fired a shot. This circumstance spread the alarm: four or five gun-boats immediately rowed out and opposed her passage till a xebeque came up and run her aboard.

The afternoon of the 18th, an extraordinary instance of gallantry and presence of mind occurred at the laboratory adjoining the South bastion. An artilleryman, named Hartley, was employed in the laboratory filling shells with carcass composition, and driving fuses into 5½ and 6-inch shells. One of them, by some unaccountable accident, took fire in the operation; and, although he was surrounded with unfixed fuses, loaded shells, composition, etc., with the most astonishing coolness he carried out the lighted shell and threw it where it could do little or no harm, and two seconds had scarcely elapsed before it exploded. If the shell had burst in the laboratory it is almost certain the whole would have been blown up, when the loss in fixed ammunition, fuses, etc., etc., would have been irreparable, exclusive of the damage which the fortifications must have suffered from the explosion, and the lives that might have been lost. He was handsomely rewarded by the governor. The night of the 10th, a soldier of De la Motte's, who had been missing from the 5th,

was discovered by the quarter-guard of that regiment stealing bread from the men's tents : he was instantly pursued, but could not be overtaken. The next day, however, he was found concealed in a cave. Two others had also been retaken within a few preceding days. Such attention had been paid to scarping the back of the Rock, that it was little short of madness in these wretches, at this period, to attempt desertion.

Some experiments were made, in the beginning of this month, with large stones, cut to fit the calibre of a 13-inch mortar. The stones had a small hole drilled in the centre which being filled with a sufficient quantity of powder, they were fired with a short fuse, to burst over the enemy's works; and the fragments were expected to do some damage, as well as alarm their workmen. It was an unusual mode of annoyance, and for its novelty was used for some time, but was soon laid aside. The 11th, in the afternoon, four sailors, under pretence of visiting some fishing-pots, deserted to the enemy. Two of them were concerned in the conspiracy to run away with the *Speedwell* cutter, as mentioned, some months before. The following evening, a sergeant of the 72nd regiment, who had absented himself several days from his corps, and who, previous to his absence, had left a letter signifying his intention to desert, was retaken half-way down the Rock, between Charles the Fifth's wall and Mount Misery. He was so situated as to be unable to descend or return, and was at length obliged to cry for assistance; which being heard by the guard at the former post, search was made for the unhappy man, and he was afterwards executed.

A deserter from the regiment of Bechart came in on the 14th : he acquainted us that the Duc de Crillon

had assumed the command of the siege, and that General Don Alvarez had quitted the camp; that the combined army consisted of 45 battalions of infantry, including 8 French battalions, 2 battalions of Spanish, and 4 companies of French artillery, beside cavalry; but, owing to desertion, their numbers were considerably diminished. The battering-ships, he said, were to have on board French artillery; and it was reported they would be completed in about six weeks, the time we had calculated ourselves from observations on their progress. About this period additional forges for heating shots were established in different parts of the garrison, with all the proper apparatus. The 15th, the enemy laid a boom of spars from the breakers north of the island at Algeziras towards the northward: some few days afterwards it was considerably lengthened, and the gun-boats were ranged in front of it: a boom was also placed between the island and the main land. We concluded these obstructions were intended to defend their battering-ships from any attempts we might make to destroy them before they were completed. The same day an embrasure was opened in the face of the Rock, communicating with the gallery above Farringdon's: the mine was loaded with an unusual quantity of powder, and the explosion was so amazingly loud, that almost the whole of the enemy's camp turned out at the report: but what must their surprise have been when they observed whence the smoke issued! The original intention of this opening was to communicate air to the workmen, who before were almost suffocated with the smoke which remained after blowing the different mines; but, on examining the aperture more closely, an idea was conceived of mounting a gun to bear on all the enemy's batteries, excepting Fort Barbara:

accordingly orders were given to enlarge the inner part for the recoil; and, when finished, a 24-pounder was mounted.*

The 18th, a soldier of the 56th regiment who had escaped from the quarter-guard some days before, and who, it is imagined, had endeavoured to desert, surrendered himself voluntarily to the main guard. One of the 58th, and another of the 97th regiment, had got off in the former part of the month: the discouragement, however, which had of late attended these deluded wretches, we were in hopes, would now deter others from attempting to abandon their colours at this critical juncture.

Our artillery, as the firing was very inconsiderable, were now chiefly engaged in preparing shells and carcasses to be used against the enemy's ships. The engineers were also equally indefatigable in their department. On the part of the besiegers, multitudes of mules were constantly employed in different duties in their camp, and large parties continued to land military stores and powder at the Orange Grove. The 25th, the *St. Philip's Castle* and *Hector* cutter arrived from the eastward, and communicated the agreeable news of the entire defeat of the French fleet in the West Indies by Admiral Sir George Rodney, with the capture of the *Ville de Paris*, and the French admiral, the Comte de Grasse. In consequence of this victory, a grand salute was fired at noon; and in the evening a *feu-de-joie*, by the troops drawn up from the Grand

* This novel formation of a covered battery was afterwards extended, and the work was prosecuted with such success, that four, if not five guns were mounted in the gallery, before the subsequent September; and in a little more than twelve months from the day the engineers commenced, it was advanced to the projection of the Rock, where the governor purposed to make a battery; which afterwards was effected, and is now distinguished by the name of St. George's Hall.

battery to the New Mole fort. Signor Leonetti, nephew to Pascal Paoli, the celebrated Corsican general, with two officers, a chaplain, and 68 volunteers, came as passengers in these vessels to offer their services to the governor. In the course of the same day, our engineers began to fix a *chevaux-de-frise* from the foot of Land Port glacis, adjoining Water Port, to the sloping palisades on the causeway, and thence to be continued across the Inundation to the advanced covered-way, leading to Lower Forbes's barrier. The enemy did not molest the party on this duty; which to us appeared very extraordinary.

A boat arrived on the 26th with two packets from Faro, which mentioned that the enemy's preparations for the attack would be complete by the middle of August, and that all the boats along the coast in the vicinity of Cadiz were already engaged to embark troops for the expedition. A private letter by this boat gave us some general information of the immense preparations which were making, and some idea of the construction of the new-invented vessels, which had inspired the enemy with such confidence of success. It recited, "That ten ships were to be fortified 6 or 7 feet thick, on the larboard side, with green timber bolted with iron, cork, junk, and raw hides; which were to carry guns of heavy metal, and be bomb-proof on the top, with a descent for the shells to slide off: that these vessels, which they supposed would be impregnable, were to be moored within half gun-shot of the walls with iron chains; and large boats with mantlets were to lie off at some distance, full of troops, to assist, and be ready to take advantage of occurrences: that the mantlets of these boats were to be formed with hinges to fall down, to facilitate their landing: that they were to have 40,000 men in camp, and the principal

attack was to be made by sea, to be covered by a squadron of men-of-war, with bomb-ketches, floating batteries, gun and mortar boats, etc.: and that the Comte d'Artois, brother to the King of France, with other great personages, was to be present at the attack."

Toward the conclusion of the month, our attention was engaged for several nights successively by a great noise on the isthmus, like that of a large body of men at work: a few light balls were thrown in different parts to discover whence it proceeded; but we could never discern any men, except their patrols: it was therefore imagined these parties were employed within the lines. The 29th, the wooden buildings in the navy yard at the New Mole were taken down and removed to Rosia, where they were afterwards re-established on an enlarged plan. As the communications along the line-wall, etc., to the northward were expected to be much exposed to the enemy's fire when the ships were brought before the walls, the engineers, about this time, began a covered-way along the rampart, from Orange's bastion to the Grand Parade, and thence to be continued to South Port: this was done by clearing away the rubbish from the old houses immediately under the works, and filling others up, which also served as traverses against the land batteries. Another covered-way was likewise made to communicate from the Princess of Wales's lines with the South barracks. The 31st, upward of a hundred covered waggons came to the enemy's lines from the camp, supposed to be laden with ammunition and stores for the batteries.

Appearances became daily more important in the month of August. The enemy's artificers were remarkably diligent at Algeziras, and the cruisers became more attentive to the blockade. They were

particularly suspicious of every vessel that came in sight from the west; and the gun-boats were stationed out as night-cruisers; which probably was the reason why we had not been for some time visited by them. In their camp every person seemed employed; and their depôts of fascines and pickets were very considerable, notwithstanding the quantities continually removed to the lines. Nor were we less active in taking advantage of this interval: large and lofty traverses were raised along the line-wall; new communications were made at Willis's; the flank of the Princess Anne's battery was rebuilt, and heavy metal mounted, to bear over Water Port. The 4th, the Corsican volunteers were formed into an independent corps, under Signor Leonetti, who was appointed captain-commandant. The company consisted of a captain and captain-lieutenant, first and second lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 chaplain, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 drummers, and 68 privates. They were armed with a firelock and bayonet, each had a horse-pistol slung on the left side, and two cartridge-boxes. The governor quartered them on Windmill Hill, and committed that post to their charge.

As the completing of the subterranean communications from the King's to the Queen's lines appeared (from the difficulty at that time attending the reinforcing of the latter, in case of an alarm) to be an object of great importance, the governor, on the 5th, ordered all the miners in the different regiments into the King's works, to prosecute it with greater diligence, and assist in the gallery above Farringdon's, which now extended 140 feet in the solid rock. The same day the enemy removed the old masts out of several of the battering-ships, substituting jury-masts in their places. Three hulls now appeared nearly finished. The evening of the 6th, the governor

thought proper to detach a trusty sergeant, with four men, from Land Port, to a recess in the rock under the Queen's lines, near Lower Forbes's, with orders to advance a sentry to the barrier, who was to listen attentively to what was transacting upon the neutral ground; but by no means to fire, except in his own defence. This party was to withdraw at the grey of the morning, that they might not be observed by the enemy.

The 7th came in a deserter who had been formerly in our service at Minorca. He swam from behind Fort Barbara, and landed at the Devil's Tower; near which place he met a patrol of cavalry, but, throwing himself on the ground, was not observed. He said the duke was resolved to fire, the 25th instant; and, from the prodigious number of mortars mounted in the lines, reports were industriously propagated in the camp, that our ordnance would soon be silenced by their superior fire, and the batteries *beaten to powder*. He further acquainted us, that there were 34,000 men in camp, and but little intercourse between the Spaniards and their allies, who were principally new levies, and very little disciplined; concluding with a confirmation of the last intelligence, that the soldiers in general so disrelished the business, that many daily deserted with their arms into the country. We continued to fire a few light balls at night, for fear the enemy should make any addition to their advanced works, which, from the immense quantity of materials brought to the lines, we suspected would be commenced very soon; and, as it was apprehended their advances would be made to the eastward, the guns at Willis's and the heights bearing toward that quarter were loaded with grape, to be more effectual in the execution, in case they were discovered. On the 11th, the 72nd regiment, which was quartered in

the bastions in town, independent of their quota towards the other duties of the garrison, voluntarily offered to assist in making the new covered-way from the Grand Parade to Orange's bastion; and 100 of them were immediately employed. The governor, however, as a compensation for their zeal, ordered them to be paid as real-men (that is, to receive two reals each per day; which is equal, at par, to about 9*d.* sterling), with the addition to each man of a pint of grog.

The enemy on the 13th got up the masts and yards in several ships, and bent the sails of two; but, from the appearance of the whole, we did not think they could be finished by the 25th. Some few days before, they lined the upper port-holes of the two-deckers with tin, to protect, as we imagined, the cheeks of the ports from being burnt by the constant firing of the cannon. In the evening, the 97th regiment furnished, for the first time, a working party of 120 men, to remove ship-timbers from the New Mole to Montague's bastion, where the engineers intended to erect a cavalier for two guns.

About this time a species of influenza made its appearance on board the frigates in the Mole, and soon communicated with the garrison. Its general symptoms were sudden pains, accompanied with a dizziness in the head; though others were affected in a different manner. For several days near 100 men were daily taken to the hospital; but bleeding and a night's rest usually removed it. It was attributed at that time to the extraordinary heat of the atmosphere, which was unusually warm, owing to the extensive fires made by the Spaniards on the neighbouring hills, and the stagnant state of the air; but we have since learned that it was universal over Europe, and we had reason, at that time, to think

the enemy were not less affected by it than the garrison.

A general officer, supposed to be the Duc de Crillon, but who, it was afterwards learned, was the Comte d'Artois, visited, on the 15th, the advanced works; we soon had reason to believe that his object was to reconnoitre the ground, previous to entering upon the succeeding additions which were made to the parallel; for, the subsequent morning at daybreak, to our great astonishment, we discovered that they had raised, during the preceding night, a very strong and lofty epaulment, in extent about 500 yards, connecting the parallel to the eastern breach, with a communication, near 1,300 yards long, extending from the principal barrier of the lines to the east end of the new epaulment. Their works now embraced each shore of the isthmus, and fully completed the first parallel. The communication, or boyau (as it was distinguished by our engineers), consisted of casks filled with sand, which was also thrown up in front, having traverses at equal distances in the rear, made of casks and fascines: but the epaulment appeared to be raised entirely with sand-bags, from 10 to 12 feet high, with a thickness proportionable: and altogether was a most stupendous work. Its purpose, however, was not immediately pointed out. To erect these new additions in so short a time, we computed, at a moderate calculation, must have employed 10,000 men, which was afterwards confirmed to us by their officers: and that so numerous a party should be at work within 800 yards of the garrison, itself on the alert, and not be discovered, must appear, to a person not present, almost incredible. We threw a few light balls whilst they were at work, one of which, we afterwards learned, greatly alarmed them; but, finding they were not discovered, they resumed

their occupation, and withdrew in the morning unobserved. The Spanish gazette described this parallel as of 230 toises* in length; and added, that *one million six hundred thousand sand-bags* were used in raising it. The communication, the gazette said, was in length 630 toises, and formed of fascines and casks. The governor at night did not order an increase of firing on the new works: a few rounds were discharged, with several carcasses and light-balls; but the latter were almost immediately extinguished.

The night of the 17th, the enemy brought a great number of casks, pickets, and fascines, to the rear of the eastern communication, which was raised to a little extent near the barrier. They also erected three epaulments with retiring flanks of sand-bags, for mortar batteries in the parallel. Two were to the westward, and the third to the eastward of the Mahon battery.

The morning of the 18th, we observed one of the battering-ships at anchor off Barcelo's battery. About noon, the men-of-war at Algeziras were decorated with flags, as was customary on the celebration of a festival; and, what did not escape our observation, the English ensign was at the maintop-gallant masthead of the admiral's ship, with the Spanish ensign flying triumphantly over it. Soon after, seven barges with crimson awnings rowed from Algeziras to the Orange Grove, where they received on board some great personages, and returned to Algeziras, escorted by 15 gun-boats, which repeatedly fired salutes, as did the men-of-war: on their return amongst the shipping, the battering-ships hoisted their ensigns, and salutes were again fired by the men-of-war. The barges then proceeded to the battering-ship which was anchored apart from the rest, where they remained

* A toise is equal to our fathom, or six feet.

some time; and, on the company's quitting the ship, she fired a salute of eight guns, and the boats went alongside the admiral. About three, the battering-ship got under way, and sailed to the northward, past the flag-ship; she endeavoured to sail back, but in vain; and was obliged to be towed to her station by 10 gun-boats. At six o'clock, three barges only returned from the Spanish admiral to the Orange Grove, and were saluted and reconducted with the same ceremony as before. We now imagined that the Comte d'Artois was arrived, and these compliments were paid in consequence of his dining with the Spanish admiral. Our firing at night was very brisk. The succeeding morning we perceived that the enemy had constructed nine traverses adjoining the eastern part of the epaulment, and had raised the boyau with fascines. The epaulment for another mortar battery was likewise erected in the parallel opposite the centre redoubt. At night the enemy were heard hard at work: our firing was consequently increased by the addition of the lower batteries; the enemy did not return a shot.

On the 19th, a small magazine blew up in the enemy's camp, near Buena Vista, which set a hut on fire. About noon, a flag of truce came from the duke: the officer appeared to be a person of rank, as the boat had a crimson awning, and the rowers were in uniform. After passing and repassing several times, our boat returned with a present, from the duke to the governor, of ice, fruit, vegetables, etc. The officers informed us that the salutes fired the preceding day were in compliment to the Comte d'Artois, etc. The following was handed about as a genuine translation of the duke's letter on this occasion; therefore, without vouching for its authenticity, it is here inserted to gratify the curiosity of the reader.

LARBOARD AND STARBOARD SIDES OF A BATTERING SHIP, WITH A VIEW OF ALGEZIRAS AND PART OF THE COMBINED FLEETS.

Reproduced from an engraving in the original edition.

[*To face p.* 266.

"Camp of Buena Vista,
"Aug. 19, 1782.

"Sir,—His Royal Highness Comte d'Artois, who has received permission from the king his brother to assist at the siege, as a volunteer in the combined army, of which their Most Christian and Catholic Majesties have honoured me with the command, arrived in this camp the 15th instant. This young prince has been pleased, in passing through Madrid, to take charge of some letters which had been sent to that capital from this place, and which are addressed to persons belonging to your garrison: his Royal Highness has desired that I would transmit them to you, and that to this mark of his goodness and attention I should add the strongest expressions of esteem for your person and character. I feel the greatest pleasure in giving this mark of condescension in this august prince, as it furnishes me with a pretext, which I have been anxiously looking for these two months that I have been in camp, to assure you of the highest esteem I have conceived for your Excellency, of the sincerest desire I feel of deserving yours, and of the pleasure to which I look forward of becoming your friend, after I shall have learned to render myself worthy of the honour, by facing you as an enemy. His Highness the Duc de Bourbon, who arrived here twenty-four hours after the Comte d'Artois, desires also that I should assure you of his particular esteem.

"Permit me, Sir, to offer a few trifles for your table, of which I am sure you must stand in need, as I know you live entirely upon vegetables: I should be glad to know what kind you like best. I shall add a few head of game for the gentlemen of your household, and some ice, which I presume will not be disagreeable in the excessive heat of this climate

at this season of the year. I hope you will be obliging enough to accept the small portion which I send with this letter. I have the honour to be, etc.,

"B. B. DUC DE CRILLON.

"His Excellency
General Eliott, etc."

The barge which brought the letter and present ranged at a short distance along the town, from off the Old Mole head to Ragged Staff, where she was stopped by our flag; but being thought rather too near, as they might thence make what observations they chose on our batteries, a shot was fired over her from the *Repulse* prame; upon which she rowed further out in the bay, and waited at a considerable distance for the return of our flag. The night of the 19th, the enemy raised the semicircular parapet of the *place d'armes* joining the east flank of the St. Carlos's battery, with sand-bags eight or nine feet high, apparently for a battery: they also made some considerable additions to the eastern works. The day following, a flag of truce went from the garrison with an answer to the duke's polite letter of the preceding day: the governor's letter was reported to be to the following purpose:

"Gibraltar, Aug. 20, 1782.

"SIR,—I find myself highly honoured by your obliging letter of yesterday, in which your Excellency was so kind as to inform me of the arrival in your camp of his Royal Highness the Comte d'Artois, and the Duc de Bourbon, to serve as volunteers at the siege. These princes have shown their judgment in making choice of a master in the art of war, whose abilities cannot fail to form great warriors. I am overpowered with the condescension of his Royal

Highness, in suffering some letters for persons in this town to be conveyed from Madrid in his carriages. I flatter myself that your Excellency will give my most profound respects to his Royal Highness, and to the Duc de Bourbon, for the expressions of esteem with which they have been pleased to honour so insignificant a person as I am.

"I return a thousand thanks to your Excellency for your handsome present of fruits, vegetables, and game. You will excuse me, however, I trust, when I assure you, that, in accepting your present, I have broken through a resolution to which I had faithfully adhered since the beginning of the war; and that was never to receive or procure, by any means whatever, any provisions or other commodity for my own private use: so that, without any preference, everything is sold publicly here; and the private soldier, if he have money, can become a purchaser as well as the governor. I confess I make it a point of honour to partake both of plenty and scarcity in common with the lowest of my brave fellow-soldiers. This furnishes me with an excuse for the liberty I now take, of entreating your Excellency not to heap any more favours on me of this kind, as in future I cannot convert your presents to my own private use. Indeed, to be plain with your Excellency, though vegetables at this season are scarce with us, every man has got a quantity proportioned to the labour which he has bestowed in raising them. The English are naturally fond of gardening and cultivation; and here we find our amusement in it, during the intervals of rest from public duty. The promise which the Duc de Crillon makes, of honouring me in proper time and place with his friendship, lays me under infinite obligations. The interest of our sovereigns being once solidly settled, I shall with eagerness embrace the first

opportunity to avail myself of so precious a treasure. I have the honour to be, etc.,

"G. A. ELIOTT.

"His Excellency
the Duc de Crillon, etc."

Our artillery, on the night of the 20th, fired with great vivacity from the upper and lower batteries, in all directions; for the objects now were so numerous and divided, the parallel being upwards of half a mile in extent, that we could not always be certain where to find them employed. In the morning we observed they had raised the boyau, and made some alterations in the western works. The enemy's operations were not now carried on in the same slow manner as formerly: the duke seemed determined to act with vigour, and astonish us by the rapidity with which he raised his batteries. His army was numerous, and his orders (if we may credit report) with respect to means and materials unlimited. Every exertion was therefore used to complete them with expedition. Whilst our opponents were so active, we were not on our parts indolent, or inattentive to the defence of the garrison. The late additions of the enemy made considerable alterations necessary in the works at Willis's, etc. Our parties were therefore augmented, and employed in strengthening the communications, repairing the splinter-proofs, and on other important duties of the same nature. Green's Lodge and the Royal battery were ordered to be caissoned with ship-timber: the intrenched covered-way from the Princess of Wales's lines was continued, and sloping palisades placed under those parts of the line-wall, from the 1-gun bastion to the New Mole, which were not well flanked from above. A boom of masts was likewise laid from the former to the head of the watering-tank, and anchors sunk

in the shallow water between that bastion and Ragged Staff.

The afternoon of the 21st a carcass from Willis's set fire to some loose fascines in the rear of the Eastern boyau, which soon communicated to the work itself; and the line for a considerable extent was involved in the flames. On the appearance of the smoke our lower batteries immediately opened, and a most animated cannonade was directed from the garrison. A party of the enemy endeavoured to extinguish the fire; but, finding their efforts to stop its progress in vain, they gallantly pulled down the line on each side to prevent the flames from spreading; which they at length effected, but not without considerable loss from our artillery. For some time we imagined the enemy would remain *silent* spectators of the conflagration; but an officer arriving at the lines about six o'clock, their batteries instantly returned the fire, seconded soon after by the new 13-gun battery near the Tower; the latter, however, after four or five discharges, was silenced by the Old Mole head howitzers. Our fire was so brisk and so well-served, that it exceeded theirs by four to one. About half-past seven the flames burnt out; and our additional ordnance, as well as the enemy's batteries, ceased. In this short firing they returned 743 shot and 38 shells; and we expended in the 24 hours, including what were discharged on this occasion, 90 barrels of powder. We had three men slightly wounded. In the prior part of the day, 13 feluccas arrived in the bay from the east: some imagined they were intended for additional gunboats; others, for debarking troops. The 22nd, the enemy had repaired the damage done by the fire the preceding day; but in the afternoon another similar accident had nearly happened: a carcass was thrown

into the St. Martin's battery, and took effect; but the guard exerted themselves with such activity and bravery, that it was soon extinguished, although our lower batteries were again open to support it. The enemy were on this day totally silent. The succeeding night they dressed and raised the new communication, and made some additions to the eastern part of the parallel; they were also at work in their new mortar batteries; and great quantities of materials were brought down to the lines, and into the advanced works.

The 24th, the inhabitants in Hardytown began early to remove their bedding, etc., towards Europa; they were confident, from the information of the last deserters, that the enemy would again open their batteries the succeeding day, being the anniversary of St. Louis; and no persuasions could banish their apprehensions. They were, however, convinced, the following day, that the duke was not prepared, whatever his intentions might have been some weeks before.

The enemy being heard at work, on the night of the 24th, drew a warm fire from our batteries. In the morning we found they had raised additional traverses to the sand-bag epaulment, which now presented a formidable battery of 64 embrasures, divided into 4 batteries of 14 embrasures each, and 1 of 8; leaving a space at the eastern extremity, as we concluded, for mortars. The original epaulment remained entire, the additional merlons joining at proper intervals the front work, which served to mask the embrasures till the batteries were finished. Several embrasures of the 8-gun battery they had already lined with fascines. Some additions were also made to the St. Carlos's battery, the parapet of which was lengthened toward the west. The following night the enemy, notwithstanding a

warm fire from the garrison, erected three large magazines, and began a fourth in the rear of the 64-gun battery: they likewise lined many of the embrasures with fascines, and raised a sand-bag traverse to cover the communication from the west flank of the 64-gun battery to the parallel.

The 26th, the *Queen Charlotte*, *Leonora*, and *Charles*, ordnance-ships, with the *St. Philip's Castle*, were ordered into the Mole to be run ashore till the expected attack was decided. The seamen belonging to the frigates were employed also about this time in carrying sails and yards to erect tents for a camp at Europa, where they were to be stationed when the governor should think proper to order them on shore. In the evening, about ten o'clock, came in a deserter, an Irishman, who formerly had been in our service; he swam from the beach beyond Fort St. Philip, and attempted to land at Bayside, but was fired upon by their advanced sentries. He informed us it was reported that the duke had intended firing on the 25th, but was prevented from finishing his batteries so soon as he expected by the heavy fire from the garrison: that, in their endeavours to extinguish the flames on the preceding 21st, the party had sustained very considerable loss: a colonel and 17 men of the regiment to which he belonged were killed. He corroborated the intelligence, by the last deserter, concerning the number of men in camp, and respecting the prevalence of desertion.

We did not discover any material additions the morning of the 27th: a fifth magazine was erected; also several traverses in the rear of the parallel. Another of the battering-ships anchored the same day off Barcelo's battery, apart from the rest: as she swung round with the tide, we had an opportunity of viewing with glasses the starboard-side, which we

perceived was not closed in and finished like the opposite side; the bomb-proof only extending about three parts over, leaving considerable openings between the strong uprights which supported it from the deck, for the convenient reception of men, provisions, and ammunition. We observed, the same day, a great number of boats ranged along the shore at Algeziras. In the afternoon, the *Repulse* prame came into the New Mole; and the succeeding morning the *Fortune* and *Vanguard* were likewise withdrawn from the bay. At night the enemy erected a number of traverses in rear of their parallel and battery, and finished some interior work, as they had done the preceding night, though we kept up our usual fire.

The enemy's squadron was reinforced on the 28th with six Spanish line-of-battle ships and a xebeque, under a commodore, from the west. In the course of the day, two 24-pounders were taken up the hill to the gallery above Farringdon's, for the embrasures already opened; and 400 additional workmen were ordered into the works. Upwards of 600 men were at this time daily employed at Willis's, covering and strengthening the flanks; likewise in forming new communications, with splinter-proofs, traverses, etc., as the new battery enfiladed most of the old covered-ways, and rendered a thorough change necessary in those works, before the artillery could be properly covered. The communications in town and at the south were therefore discontinued, till the above were put in the best state of defence and security. At dusk, three sergeants were posted upon the North, King's, and South bastions, to observe and report the enemy's signals in camp, and along the coast. At night, a deserter from the Walons came over in the same manner as the last. He reported, that a very strong party was ordered for work that evening; which

induced the governor to increase the firing from Willis's, the lines, and lower batteries. He further acquainted us, that we killed numbers of their workmen; and that the 15th of next month was fixed for opening upon the garrison: but that all, even the volunteers, were disheartened at the very thoughts of the attack. Ninety pieces of cannon, he likewise said, were brought into the 64-gun battery; which number was to be increased, to supply the place of those which might be damaged, or over-heated. The night of the 28th, the enemy raised more traverses, and began communications to their magazines: 153 of the former were erected behind the long boyau. They also worked upon the mortar batteries.

It was about this period that the Spanish 26-pounders, with other guns of the same heavy nature, were distributed on the sea-line in room of ordnance of smaller calibre, which were mounted in their places against the enemy's batteries. By this disposition the duke would not have it in his power to return any of the shot we fired, as his cannon were all 26-pounders; and the governor was enabled to retaliate on their shipping, those shot which he had received from the land; annoying them by this means with their own weapons. Toward the conclusion of the month, the influenza had almost disappeared: the working parties were therefore reinforced, though the heavy duty of the guards would with difficulty permit it: on the 29th, the engineers paraded upwards of 1,700 workmen, including non-commissioned officers. The enemy, on the night of the 29th, raised merlons for four embrasures, joining the semicircular sand-bag epaulment, east of St. Carlos's battery. Six battering-ships were at anchor off Barcelo's battery on the 30th. The same day our seamen were ordered on shore, to encamp at Europa. At night, the artillery, in addition

to their former fire, opened the Grand battery: it did not, however, prevent the enemy from platforming the 64-gun battery, and making further additions to the mortar batteries. They also lined with fascines the embrasures of the semicircular 4-gun battery. Many hundred mules were still employed in bringing clay and fascines to the parallel. Our fire was very destructive amongst these animals, as well as their workmen; two, three, and sometimes more of the former being frequently seen dead on the sands at daybreak.

Our engineers, by the close of the month, had extended Land Port *chevaux-de-frise* to the causeway, and begun the other across the Inundation. Carpenters were also engaged in caissoning the Royal and Green's lodge batteries, and raising new traverses at those posts. The enemy's squadron in the bay at this period was as follows: four line-of-battle ships, and one of 50 guns (on board of which was the flag), two frigates, three cutters, four bomb-ketches, and smaller armed vessels, were at Algeziras: two ships of the line were at anchor off the Orange Grove; and a frigate, with an armed brig, was at Cabrita. To these we may add the battering-ships and gun-boats. Since two of the men-of-war had removed nearer the enemy's camp, boats full of soldiers were frequently observed going on board them; and as the guns were seen to be drawn back from the ports, and suddenly run out again, whilst the troops were on board, we suspected that they were practising to work the guns, previous to their embarking on board the battering-ships.

Affairs seemed now drawing to a crisis: and, as every appearance indicated that the attack would not long be deferred, the inhabitants, apprehensive of the consequences, were wonderfully active in securing

places of retreat for themselves and their property. The besiegers wrought hard the night of the 31st; two cross-communications lined with fascines were thrown up from the long boyau, leading to the parallel; one to the western flank of the 64-gun battery, the other to the westward of the Mahon battery. Five traverses were also erected within each of the new mortar batteries, and magazines for ammunition were begun near them, joining the parallel. We imagined they were likewise employed in bringing down ordnance to the advanced works. Our artillery amused them with a brisk fire; but the governor rather objected to such a quantity of powder being at this time expended, as he was of opinion they were now too well covered in their batteries to be much annoyed; and we might afterwards have more occasion for the ammunition.

The evening of the 1st of September, a small boat manned with English sailors sailed for Portugal. Lieutenant Campbell, of the navy, sailed in her with dispatches from the governor for England. At night, the enemy erected an epaulment of sand-bags, apparently for two guns, adjoining the west flank of the Mahon battery; and raised the new communications several fascines in height. Some additions were likewise made to the magazines. Long strings of mules still continued bringing down fascines and other materials, which were deposited in different parts of their works. We imagined these animals also brought down shot and shells, as their piles in the artillery park were considerably diminished. In the garrison, our engineers were indefatigable in raising defences against the enemy's formidable new batteries; and coals were distributed to the grates and furnaces for heating shot.

We perceived very little alteration in the opera-

tions of our opponents on the 3rd: they lined the embrasures of the new 2-gun battery, and added to the cross-communications. In the course of the day, their squadron was reinforced with 2 French men-of-war from the eastward, which were conducted into the bay by a Spanish frigate. The 4th, the enemy removed the guns from the two 14-gun batteries in the lines, and dismounted most of the ordnance in the mortar batteries, probably to repair the beds and platforms. The removing of the cannon from the former gave us no small pleasure, as we had experienced more fatal effects, during their late wanton bombardment and cannonade, from those batteries, than from any other in their lines. The guns, we supposed, were brought forward to the parallel, for we observed ten in the eastern extremity of the 64-gun battery. In the forenoon, sixteen boats, with mantles or barricades in the bow, came from the river Palmones, and anchored off the landing-place beyond Point Mala: these, we concluded, were for the sea-attack. About sunset, those battering-ships which were finished, removed from Algeziras to the Orange Grove: they appeared to sail rather heavily, and used sweeps, notwithstanding the breeze. About the same time, two grand salutes were fired by the French men-of-war.

During the night of the 4th, the enemy's parties masked the six western embrasures of the St. Martin's battery, and raised the parapet with fascines, intending, as we imagined, to convert it into a mortar battery, as six mortars were seen, the preceding day, lying in the rear. The howitzers were also removed from the centre redoubt, and some additions made to the epaulment, in front of the St. Paschal's battery, which was now completed for eight mortars. They likewise sunk four deep excavations behind the eastern

boyau, as reservoirs for water, in case of fire. At night, another battering-ship joined the others at the Orange Grove: soon afterwards, the enemy shipped powder on board them from the pier. Early on the 5th, a large body of men marched in a very irregular manner from Algeziras to the camp. We imagined they were the artificers who had been employed upon the ships, and were encamped south of the tower, half of which camp was now struck. During the day, 29 square-sailed boats arrived, under convoy of an armed brig, from the west, and, with upwards of 120 from Algeziras, assembled in a line off Rocadillo Point, at the mouth of the Guadaranque. A large floating battery was also towed out and anchored at the entrance of the Palmones. Toward evening, about 500 men, escorted by a body of cavalry, embarked from the pier on board the battering-ships: the singular mode of conducting them to the beach could not fail to attract our notice, and to cause in us some degree of surprise. About eight in the evening, a deserter came in from the regiment of Naples: he reported that the 8th was named for the grand attack, and that all hands were actively employed in completing everything in the several departments.

Few additions were perceived on the 6th: some sand-bags were placed on the mortar battery of the St. Martin's. In the forenoon, more boats joined the others at Rocadillo, from the west; the floating battery was likewise towed to the pier near Point Mala. The governor, the same day, made some new arrangements in the garrison detail. An additional field-officer was ordered to mount in the lines, to be independent of the field-officer in town; and the field-officers of the day, in future, were directed to make such disposition of the guards, pickets, and ordnance in their several districts, on every occasion, as appeared to be most

for the benefit of the service. A subaltern was added to the New Mole guard, who was at night to be detached with 20 men to the Mole head; and the pickets in future were ordered to mount fully accoutred, with ammunition complete. The 39th regiment was also ordered to town, the battalion companies to encamp in South Port ditch, and the grenadiers and light infantry to be quartered in the picket-yard bomb-proofs, before occupied by part of the 72nd regiment, who, on this disposition, joined the rest of their regiment in Montague's and King's bastions.

The enemy's works on the land side were now every hour advancing to perfection; but the duke's attention toward completing them seemed so entirely to engage him, as, in a great measure, to prevent his taking the prudent precautions necessary for their defence. The advanced batteries in the parallel were either unfinished (though nearly completed) or undergoing such alterations, that the materials in their vicinity greatly obstructed the use of the ordnance which were mounted; and their batteries in the lines (except the forts) were in a similar situation, the cannon, to permit the necessary repairs, being totally removed from some, and the mortars drawn back or dismounted in others. The forts and some few mortar batteries were therefore the only defences left to protect these immense works from insult and attack. This state of their works presented an opportunity in some respects not unlike that which General Eliott had embraced in the preceding year, when, by an unexpected sally, he gloriously destroyed the labours of so many months. The honour, however, of causing a second disgrace was reserved for Lieutenant-General Boyd, the lieutenant-governor, who in the forenoon of the 6th, recommended, by letter to the governor, the immediate

use of red-hot shot against the land-batteries of the besiegers. General Eliott acquiesced in the proposal, and immediately ordered Major Lewis, the commandant of the artillery, to wait on Lieutenant-General Boyd for his instructions and commands, submitting entirely to him the execution of the attack which he had projected. In consequence of the governor's assent, preparations were instantly made; and, in a short time, everything was properly arranged for the service. In the interval we must not, however, omit to take notice of the enemy's operations.

Early in the morning of the 7th, several gun-boats were discovered off the Old Mole head retiring from the garrison, which we imagined had been sounding under cover of the night. The garrison orders of this day contained the following arrangements: "The marine brigade (which composed a corps of about 900 men) to take rank on shore according to the king's regulations; Captain Curtis, as colonel, with the rank of brigadier; Captain Gibson, as lieutenant-colonel; Captain Bradshaw, as major; 8 lieutenants, as captains; 18 midshipmen, as ensigns; and the brigade to mount Europa Advance and Little Bay guards. A picket of the line to be detached every evening to the Prince's lines, and an additional subaltern at the same time to Land Port. One captain and 8 privates to be added to Water Port guard, whence a detachment of a subaltern and 30 men was to be sent, at sunset, to the Old Mole head, which, at second gun-fire, was to be joined by one of the captains. Twelve privates to the main guard. One sergeant, 9 privates, and a gunner, to Ragged Staff; detaching a sergeant and 6 men, with the gunner, at retreat-beating, to the Wharf head." The alarm-posts were also fixed as follows: "The 39th

flank companies to take post on the North bastion town; three battalion companies of the same regiment, the South bastion; the remaining 5 at Ragged Staff, extending toward the 8-gun bastion. The 72nd regiment—right, the North bastion town; left, Orange's bastion, extending as far farther from the King's bastion as possible. The 73rd regiment (which was quartered at the southward) to take post on the left of the 72nd, toward the South bastion. Captain Martin's company of artillery, the Grand battery and Water Port. Captain Lloyd's company, the King's and South bastions. Brigadier-General Picton to command the corps in town. The Hanoverian brigade, from the 8-gun bastion south to Prince Edward's battery inclusive, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dachenhausen. The 56th regiment, South parade. The 12th regiment, New Mole parade. The 97th regiment, Rosia parade. The 58th regiment, in front of their encampment, detaching a flank company through the hole in the wall upon Windmill Hill, to reinforce Europa Advance guard." (This regiment was to receive orders from Brigadier Curtis.) "The engineers and artificers in two divisions, one to assemble at the Esplanade town, the other at the Esplanade south." It was recommended at the same time to the commanding officers to have a sufficient reserve in case of deficiencies, and to pay particular attention to the flanks and redans which commanded the front of the line-wall.

As the above exhibits the governor's disposition of the troops, it will not be improper to insert in this place a detail of the guards which mounted in the garrison at this period, with the strength of the garrison, and men daily on duty. The strength of the garrison, with the marine brigade (including the officers), in September, was about 7,500 men; upwards

of 400 of whom were in the hospital. The number daily upon duty is shown in the following abstract:

Guards	1,091	men, including officers.
Pickets (including the additions of the 12th)	613	ditto.
Working parties, under the chief engineer and the quartermaster-general	1,726	exclusive of the engineers and overseers.
Total	3,430	

beside many who were constantly and indispensably employed as orderlies and assistants in the hospital, and in other departments in the garrison.

GUARDS	Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Artillery. N. Coms.	Artillery. Privates.	DETACHMENTS TO
TOWN DISTRICT	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Governor's, or Convent gd.	0	0	0	1	1	0	6	0	0	N.B. Grenadiers.
Lieut.-Governor's	0	0	0	1	1	0	9	0	0	N.B. Lt. Infantry.
Willis's, etc.	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	6	58	
Flag-staff	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	15	
Land Port	0	1	4	5	12	2	86	1	4	.. the Spur and Flèche.
Grand battery	0	0	1	1	4	1	26	0	0	
Water Port	0	2	2	4	6	2	88	0	2	.. the Lunette and Mole Head.
Main	0	1	1	2	4	2	40	1	3	
South Port	0	0	1	2	4	1	29	0	1	
Castle	0	0	0	1	2	0	12	0	0	
North line-wall	0	0	0	1	2	0	15	0	0	
South line-wall	0	0	0	1	2	0	9	0	0	
Artillery-magazine	0	0	0	1	1	0	6	0	0	
Middle Hill	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	2	0	
Signal House	0	0	0	1	1	0	6	1	0	.. .. Cha. Vth's wall.
Victualling Office	0	0	0	1	1	0	9	0	0	
Patrols	0	0	0	9	0	0	18	0	0	
Orderlies	0	0	0	13	0	1	2	0	0	
LINES	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Prince's	0	1	1	3	6	2	50	1	1	.. .. Upper Forbes's, etc.
King's	0	0	1	1	4	1	50	0	2	
Queen's	0	1	1	1	2	1	30	0	1	
SOUTH DISTRICT	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Europa	0	1	1	1	3	2	32	1	8	N. B. Marine Brigade.
Europa Advance	0	0	1	1	1	1	20	1	4	
Little Bay	0	0	1	1	1	1	18	0	1	
Ragged Staff	0	0	1	2	2	1	30	0	1	.. .. the Wharf.
Rosia	0	0	1	1	2	1	30	0	2	.. .. Victualling tent.
New Mole	0	1	2	3	3	2	59	0	3	.. .. New Mole head.
Buena Vista	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	2	0	
Camp	0	0	0	1	1	0	9	0	0	
Hospital	0	0	0	1	1	0	12	0	0	
Magazine	0	0	0	1	1	0	15	0	0	
South Shed	0	0	0	1	2	0	21	0	0	.. .. The Provost ship.
Princess of Wales's lines	0	0	0	1	1	0	6	0	0	
Windmill Hill	0	0	0	0	1	0	9	0	0	N.B. Corsicans.
General De la Motte's	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	
Orderlies	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
Total	3	9	22	64	73	23	773	18	106	

In the evening of the 7th, a little before midnight, two large lights appeared on the shore west of the Orange Grove, forming a right line with our Grand battery; and at the same time, two similar fires were seen behind Fort St. Philip; whence, if a line was produced, it would to appearance have intersected the former, about 800 or 900 yards to the north-west of the Old Mole head. These unusual signals made many conjecture that the enemy were sounding in that quarter. A few rounds were accordingly fired at intervals in that direction from the north bastion.

By the morning of the 8th, the preparations, in the department of the artillery, under General Boyd's directions, were completed; and, the success of the attack in a great measure depending upon embracing the favourable moment, it was no longer deferred. At seven o'clock, the town-guards being relieved, the firing commenced from all the northern batteries which bore upon the western part of the parallel, and was supported through the day with admirable precision and vivacity. The effect of the red-hot shot and carcasses exceeded our most sanguine expectations. In a few hours, the Mahon battery of 6 guns, with the battery of 2 guns on its flank, and great part of the adjoining parallel, were on fire; and the flames, notwithstanding the enemy's exertions to extinguish them, burnt so rapidly, that the whole of those works before night were consumed. The St. Carlos's and St. Martin's batteries, however, on this occasion escaped the fate which they had formerly experienced. They were nevertheless so much *deranged* by the breaches made to obstruct the effects of the carcasses, etc., that the enemy were under the necessity of taking down the greater part.

The enemy, for near an hour, continued silent spectators of our cannonade. About eight, they fired

a few guns from the St. Martin's battery; and between nine and ten, returned our fire from Forts St. Philip and Barbara, with the 7-gun battery in the lines, and soon after from 8 new mortar batteries in the parallel. This tardiness in returning our fire, in some degree we attributed to the works being confused with materials, and some of the batteries being deficient in ammunition. It might, however, be owing to want of discretionary orders, as an officer of rank was observed to enter the lines about the time when their cannonade became general: a reinforcement also marched down from the camp.

The astonishing bravery displayed by the enemy in their repeated attempts to extinguish the flames, could not fail to attract our particular notice and admiration. Urged on most probably by emulation, they performed prodigies of valour; so that their loss, under so well directed a fire, must have been very considerable. The French brigade, we afterwards understood, had 140 killed and wounded. If the Spanish casualties bore an equal proportion, their united loss must have greatly exceeded our calculation.

About four o'clock in the afternoon the cannonade abated on both sides, and the enemy soon after were totally silent, though we continued our usual fire. The garrison had two or three killed, and several wounded. Lieutenant Boag, of the artillery, and Ensign Gordon, of the 58th regiment, were of the latter number. The former officer had been wounded before: on this occasion he was pointing a gun from Hanover battery in the lines, when a shell fell in the battery. He had scarcely time to throw himself down in an embrasure, when the shell burst, and fired the gun under the muzzle of which he lay. The report immediately deprived him of

hearing, and it was some time before he recovered a tolerable use of that faculty. Major Martin, of the same corps, had likewise a very fortunate escape from a 26-pounder, which shot away the cock of his hat close to the crown. I insert this anecdote, because it is commonly believed, that if a cannon-ball of large diameter passes so near the head of a person, the wind of it is generally fatal. The major was considerably stunned by the passage of the shot, but experienced little further injury. In the forenoon of the 8th, two more ships of the line removed to the Orange Grove, followed some time afterwards by 22 gun and mortar boats; and in the evening, one of the French men-of-war joined them from Algeziras. In the course of the day, a number of troops were embarked on board such of the battering-ships as were finished; and at night, our artillery replaced the ammunition in the expense magazines, which had been used to such good purpose in the morning.

This unexpected insult undoubtedly precipitated the duke's measures; and by provoking him to the attack, before the preparations in the other departments were ready to combine with him in a general and powerful effort against the garrison, served greatly to frustrate the enterprise. Apprehensive, probably, that, elated by our good fortune, we might renew our attempts finally to destroy the land works which had escaped, the duke determined to avoid the blow (which also might be in other respects fatal in its consequences) by opening his batteries, even in their unfinished state. Actuated, most probably, by these motives, the embrasures of the new batteries were unmasked during the night of the 8th; and the succeeding morning, at daybreak, we were surprised to find every appearance in their works for firing upon the garrison. Two rockets from the forts in

the lines were the signals to begin; and the cannonade commenced at half-past five o'clock, with a volley of about 60 shells from all their mortar batteries in the parallel, succeeded by a general discharge of their cannon, amounting, in the whole, to about 170 pieces of ordnance, all of large calibre:—a discharge, I believe, not to be paralleled! * Their firing was powerful, and entirely directed against our works; but was not, after the first round, altogether so tremendous and destructive as we had reason to expect from such a train of artillery. At intervals, from 10 to 20 shells were in the air at the same moment; but their effects were not equal to the numbers expended. The town, southward of the King's bastion, was little affected; but the northern front, and line-wall leading from the Grand Parade to the North bastion, were exceedingly warm; and the lines and Land Port were greatly annoyed by the shells from the howitzers, which were distributed in various parts of their parallel. Montague's and Orange's bastions seemed to be the centre of the enemy's cross-fire; whilst the line-wall in their vicinity and to the southward was taken *à revers* by the shot which passed over the lines from the 64-gun battery.

Not imagining, from the rough appearance of the enemy's works, that they could possibly retaliate so soon, the guards and pickets at the north end of the garrison were for some time exposed, and some casualties occurred: but we soon discovered whence we were chiefly annoyed, and consequently became more cautious. Lieutenant Wharton, of the 73rd regiment, was dangerously wounded at Land Port.

Whilst the land batteries were thus pouring forth their vengeance upon the northern front, nine line-of-

* A French account of the siege gives 186 as the number of the enemy's ordnance on the land side at this time.

battle ships, including those under the French flag, got under way from the Orange Grove, and passing along the sea-line, discharged several broadsides at the garrison, and particularly at a settee which had just arrived under our guns from Algiers. When this squadron had got round Europa Point, they suddenly wore, and returning along the Europa, Rosia, and New Mole batteries, commenced a regular and heavy fire upon the garrison. The marine brigade and artillery returned the salute till they passed, when the men-of-war wore and returned to the eastward. About the same time that the enemy were thus amusing us at the southward, 15 guns and mortar boats approached the town, and continued their fire for some time; but, the artillery giving them a warm reception from the King's bastion, two of them were towed off with precipitation, and the rest retired in great disorder. One was thought to be very considerably damaged; and some imagined that her gun was thrown overboard to save her from sinking.

This mode of annoying us on all sides exactly corresponded with the accounts which we had received of the plan of attack suggested by Monsieur d'Arçon, the French engineer, who superintended the enemy's preparations. They hoped probably to confound and overwhelm us, by presenting to us destruction under such various forms and by the enormous quantity of fire which they poured in upon the garrison. The governor, however, did not approve of his troops being thus subjected to be harassed at their pleasure, and resolved therefore, if possible, to put a stop to their sea-attacks. For this purpose the furnaces and grates for heating shot, at the New Mole, were ordered to be lighted: and some new arrangements took place in the ordnance upon Windmill Hill. Toward dusk the enemy abated

in the fire from their cannon; increasing, however, in the expenditure of shells, which, being generally fired with short fuses, broke in the air. This practice seemed well calculated for the purposes in view. In the day, they could observe with greater certainty the effect of their shot, and alter as circumstances directed: the firing at night must unavoidably be less depended upon: shells were therefore burst over the heads of our workmen, to prevent them, if possible, from repairing at night the damage received in the day. It did not nevertheless obstruct the duties in the department of the engineers; and the artillery were not hindered from further completing the expense magazines with ammunition. The 97th regiment was now so far recovered, as for some time to assist in the fatigue duties of the garrison: and this day the officers, with 100 men, were added to the general roster. The town guards were also ordered to assemble in South Port ditch.

The enemy's men-of-war (as we expected) repeated their attack very early on the morning of the 10th. Each ship carried a light at her mizen-peak; but they did not approach near enough to produce much effect. We received them with a well-supported fire; and the next morning observed one of them at anchor, with her bowsprit unshipped, at Algeziras. The remaining 8 renewed their cannonade about 9 in the forenoon, and killed 2 of the marine brigade, and wounded a sergeant of artillery and 2 others. After they had passed as before, they wore ship, apparently with an intention of continuing their visits, but suddenly put about, hauled their wind, and anchored off the Orange Grove. We were afterwards informed, that the discovery of a red-hot shot on board one of the ships was the immediate cause of this hasty manœuvre.

The enemy continued their firing from the isthmus, recommencing at morning gun-fire on the 10th from their gun batteries. At 7 o'clock, including the expenditure on the 8th, they had discharged 5,527 shot and 2,302 shells, exclusive of the number fired by the men-of-war and mortar boats. The garrison, on the contrary, took no further notice of them, than to return a few rounds from the terrace batteries at their working parties, who were repairing the damage done on the 8th, and completing the rest of their works. In the course of the day, the *Brilliant* and *Porcupine* frigates were scuttled by the navy in the New Mole; and at night the engineers, with a working party, cleared the lines of rubbish, and restored those traverses which had been demolished. At night, the enemy's fire was under the same regulation as the preceding evening.

The next morning, when our guards were relieving, a signal was made at the tower, near the quarry, under the Queen of Spain's Chair; and the enemy's cannonade became excessively brisk: fortunately few casualties occurred. Their firing, when this object ceased to engage them, seemed to be principally directed against the obstructions at Land Port, and in that part of the garrison. Many of the palisades in the covered way were destroyed, and the *chevaux-de-frise* considerably injured: artificers were, however, constantly detached to repair those breaches, so that the whole were kept in a better state than might be expected. In the afternoon, we began to conclude, that the attack with the battering-ships was no longer to be deferred. Several detachments of soldiers embarked from the camp, and others were standing on the neighbouring eminences; which, with the appearance in the evening of signals like those which had been observed on the night of the

7th, led us to imagine that every preparation was complete; and the wind at that time blowing gently in the bay, from the north-west, favoured our conjecture. Land Port and Water Port guards were immediately reinforced, the furnaces and grates for heating shot were lighted, and the artillery ordered to man the batteries.

Thus prepared, we waited their appearance; for it seemed to be the general opinion, that the battering-ships would advance, and be moored in the night, that they might be less exposed to annoyance in this duty, and open with greater effect together at day-break. Our attention was, however, called off from the bay to the land-side, where the enemy had set fire to the barriers of Bay-side and Forbes's; and the whole of those palisades, to the water's edge, were instantly involved in flames. The northern guards and pickets were immediately under arms, and a smart discharge of musketry was directed upon several parties, which, by the light of the fire, were discovered in the meadows. The enemy increasing their bombardment, and nothing new happening in consequence of the conflagration, the pickets and guards were remanded under cover; but the artillery continued upon the batteries. We had scarcely recovered from this alarm, before the gun and mortar boats, with the bomb-ketches, began to bombard the northern front, taking their stations off the King's bastion, extending towards Fort St. Philip. They commenced about an hour after midnight; and their fire, added to that of the land batteries, exceedingly annoyed Water Port and its vicinity. The out-pickets were again under arms, but providentially our loss was trifling. We returned a few rounds from the sea-line, but still disregarded the batteries on the isthmus; excepting when their workmen appeared,

or were thought to be employed. Major Lewis, commandant of the artillery, was unfortunately amongst the wounded. The confinement of this active officer at this critical juncture might have been highly prejudicial to the service, had not his seconds been of confirmed ability and experience: owing to their united exertions, the several duties in that complicated and important department continued to be conducted with efficiency and success.

When the gun-boats retired, nothing new occurred till the morning of the 12th: the enemy's firing continued to be supported at the average of 4,000 rounds in the 24 hours. About 8 o'clock, reports were received from Europa guard, that a large fleet had appeared in the Straits from the westward. The wind was brisk, and we had scarcely time to form any conjectures concerning them, ere they approached the bay; and proved to be the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of seven 3-deckers, and 31 ships of 2 decks; with 3 frigates and a number of xebeques, bomb-ketches, and hospital-ships; the whole under the command of ten admirals, and a broad pennant. In the afternoon, they were all at anchor in the bay between the Orange Grove and Algeziras.

This great accumulation of force could not fail to surprise, if not alarm, the garrison. It appeared as if the enemy meant, previous to their final efforts, to strike, if possible, a terror through their opponents, by displaying before us a more powerful armament than had probably ever been brought against any fortress: 47 sail of the line, including 3 inferior 2-deckers, 10 battering-ships, deemed perfect in design, and esteemed invincible, carrying 212 guns; innumerable frigates, xebeques, bomb-ketches, cutters, gun and mortar-boats, and smaller craft for disembarking men; these were assembled in the bay. On the land

side were most stupendous and strong batteries and works, mounting 200 pieces of heavy ordnance, and protected by an army of near 40,000 men, commanded by a victorious and active general, of the highest reputation, and animated with the immediate presence of two princes of the royal blood of France, with other dignified personages, and many of their own nobility. Such a naval and military spectacle most certainly is not to be equalled in the annals of war. From such a combination of power, and favourable concurrent circumstances, it was natural enough that the Spanish nation should anticipate the most glorious consequences. Indeed, their confidence in the effect to be produced by the battering-ships passed all bounds; and, in the enthusiasm excited by the magnitude of their preparations, it was thought highly criminal, as we afterwards learned, even to whisper a doubt of the success.

In drawing these flattering conclusions, the enemy, however, seemed entirely to have overlooked the nature of that force which was opposed to them; for though the garrison scarcely consisted of more than 7,000 effective men, including the marine brigade, they forgot that they were now veterans in this service, had been a long time habituated to the effects of artillery, and were prepared by degrees for the arduous conflict that awaited them. We were, at the same time, commanded by officers of approved courage, prudence, and ability; eminent for all the accomplishments of their profession, and in whom we had unbounded confidence. Our spirits too were not a little elevated by the success attending the recent practice of firing red-hot shot, which in this attack we hoped would enable us to bring our labours to a period, and relieve us from the tedious cruelty of another vexatious blockade.

Before the garrison had well discovered the force of their new visitors, an occurrence happened, which, though trifling in itself, I trust I shall be excused for noticing. When the van of the combined fleet had entered the bay, and the soldiers in town were attentively viewing the ships, alleging, amongst other reasons for their arrival, that the British fleet must undoubtedly be in pursuit; on a sudden, a general huzza was given, and all, to a man, cried out, the British admiral was certainly in their rear, as a flag for a fleet was hoisted upon our Signal House pole. For some moments the flattering idea was indulged; but our hopes were soon damped by the sudden disappearance of the signal. We were afterwards informed by the guard at that post, that what our creative fancies had imagined to be a flag, was an *eagle*, which, after several evolutions, had perched a few minutes on the westernmost pole, and then flew away toward the east. Though less superstitious than the ancient Romans, many could not help fancying it a favourable omen to the garrison; and the event of the succeeding day justified the prognostication.

In the morning of the 12th, the governor reinforced the pickets of the line; nine of which, in future, were stationed in town, and distributed as follows: two at Water Port, two at Land Port, two in the lines, and the remaining three in the picket-yard, with the field-officer of the town district. The other picket of the line was stationed at the southward. The following return specifies the strength of the pickets at this period:

		sub.	*s.*	*d.*	*r. & f.*
The artillery, and Hanoverian brigade, each corps	...	1	1	1	39
The 12th, 39th, 56th, and 58th regiments	ditto ...	1	1	1	54
The 72nd and 73rd regiments . .	ditto ...	1	1	1	76
The 97th regiment . . .	ditto ...	1	1	1	56
Total: 4 captains, 1 of the artillery and 3 of the line		11	11	11	580

In the evening, about dusk, a number of men were observed to embark from the Orange Grove, on board the battering-ships; which, with the presence of the combined fleet, and the wind blowing favourably, induced us to conclude that the important and long meditated attack was not long to be deferred.

The enemy's cannonade was continued, almost on the same scale as the preceding days, during the night of the 12th. The next morning we observed the combined fleet had made some new arrangements in their position, or moorings, and that the remaining two battering-ships had joined the others at the Orange Grove, where their whole attacking force seemed to be now assembled. About a quarter before seven o'clock, some motions were observed amongst their shipping; and soon after the battering-ships got under way, with a gentle breeze from the north-west, standing to the southward, to clear the men-of-war, and were attended by a number of boats. As our navy were constantly of opinion that the battering-ships would be brought before the garrison in the night, few suspected that the present manœuvres were preparatory to their finally entering on the interesting enterprise; but, observing a crowd of spectators on the beach, near Point Mala, and upon the neighbouring eminences, and the ships edging down towards the garrison, the governor thought it would be imprudent any longer to doubt it. The town batteries were accordingly manned, and the grates and furnaces for heating shot ordered to be lighted.

Thus prepared for their reception, we had leisure to notice the enemy's evolutions. The ten battering-ships, after leaving the men-of-war, wore to the north; and, a little past nine o'clock, bore down in admirable order for their several stations; the admiral, in a

2-decker, mooring about 900 yards off the King's bastion, the others successively taking their places to the right and left of the flag-ship, in a masterly manner; the most distant being about 1,100 or 1,200 yards from the garrison. Our artillery allowed the enemy every reasonable advantage, in permitting them without molestation to choose their distance; but as soon as the first ship dropped her anchors, which was about a quarter before ten o'clock, that instant our firing commenced. The enemy were completely moored in a little more than ten minutes, and their cannonade then became in a high degree tremendous. The showers of shot and shells which were now directed from their land-batteries, the battering-ships, and, on the other hand, from the various works of the garrison, exhibited a scene, of which perhaps neither the pen nor the pencil can furnish a competent idea. It is sufficient to say that upward of *four hundred pieces* of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment: an instance which has scarcely occurred in any siege since the invention of those wonderful engines of destruction.*

After some hours' cannonade, the battering-ships were found to be no less formidable than they had been represented. Our heaviest shells often rebounded from their tops, whilst the 32-pound shot seemed incapable of making any visible impression upon their hulls. Frequently we flattered ourselves they were on fire; but no sooner did any smoke appear than, with the most persevering intrepidity,

* Enemy's ordnance	Land batteries	186
	Floating ditto	142
		328
Garrison ordnance in action.		96
		424

men were observed applying water, from their engines within, to those places whence the smoke issued. These circumstances, with the prodigious cannonade which they maintained, gave us reason to imagine that the attack would not be so soon decided as, from our recent success against their land-batteries, we had fondly expected. Even the artillery themselves, at this period, had their doubts of the effect of the red-hot shot, which began to be used about twelve, but were not general till between one and two o'clock.* The enemy's cannon at the commencement were too much elevated, but about noon their firing was powerful and well directed. Our casualties then became numerous, particularly on those batteries north of the King's bastion, which were warmly annoyed by the enemy's flanking and reverse fire from the land. Though so vexatiously annoyed from the isthmus, our artillery totally disregarded their opponents in that quarter, directing their sole attention to the battering ships, the furious and spirited opposition of which served to excite our people to more animated exertions. A fire more tremendous, if possible, than ever was therefore directed from the garrison. Incessant showers of hot balls, carcasses, and shells of every species flew from all quarters; and, as the masts of several of the ships were shot away and the rigging of all was in great confusion, our hopes of a favourable and speedy decision began to revive.

About noon their mortar boats and bomb-ketches

* As the ordnance portable furnaces for heating shot were not sufficient in number to supply the demands of the artillery when the attack was at its height, large fires were kindled of wood in the corners of the nearest buildings, and shot, being thrown into these piles, were soon heated red-hot. These supplies were jocularly termed by the men "roasted potatoes."

attempted to second the attack from the battering-ships; but, the wind having changed to the south-west and blowing a smart breeze, with a heavy swell, they were prevented taking a part in the action. The same reason also hindered our gun-boats from flanking the battering-ships from the southward.

For some hours the attack and defence were so equally well supported as scarcely to admit any appearance of superiority in the cannonade on either side. The wonderful construction of the ships seemed to bid defiance to the powers of the heaviest ordnance. In the afternoon, however, the face of things began to change considerably: the smoke which had been observed to issue from the upper part of the flagship appeared to prevail, notwithstanding the constant application of water, and the admiral's second was perceived to be in the same condition. Confusion was now apparent on board several of the vessels, and by the evening their cannonade was considerably abated; about seven or eight o'clock it almost totally ceased, excepting from one or two ships to the northward, which, from their distance, had suffered little injury.

When their firing began to slacken, various signals were made from the southernmost ships; and as the evening advanced, many rockets were thrown up, to inform their friends (as we afterwards learned) of their extreme danger and distress. These signals were immediately answered, and several boats were seen to row round the disabled ships. Our artillery, at this period, must have caused dreadful havoc amongst them. An indistinct clamour, with lamentable cries and groans, proceeded (during the short intervals of cessation) from all quarters; and, a little before midnight, a wreck floated in under the town line wall, upon which were twelve men, who only, out

of three-score which were on board their launch, had escaped. These circumstances convinced us that we had gained an advantage over the enemy, yet we did not conceive that the victory was so complete as the succeeding morning evinced. Our firing was therefore continued, though with less vivacity; but as the artillery, from such a hard-fought day, exposed to the intense heat of a warm sun, in addition to the harassing duties of the preceding night, were much fatigued, and as it was impossible to foresee what new objects might demand their service the following day, the governor, about six in the evening, when the enemy's fire abated, permitted the majority of the officers and men to be relieved by a picket of a hundred men from the marine brigade, under the command of Lieutenant Trentham; and officers and non-commissioned officers of the artillery were stationed on the different batteries, to direct the sailors in the mode of firing the hot shot.

About an hour after midnight, the battering-ship which had suffered the greatest injury, and which had been frequently on fire the preceding day, was completely in flames; and by two o'clock in the morning of the 14th, she appeared as one continued blaze from stem to stern. The ship to the southward of her was also on fire, but did not burn with so much rapidity. The light thrown out on all sides by the flames enabled the artillery to point the guns with the utmost precision, whilst the rock and neighbouring objects were highly illuminated, forming with the constant flashes of our cannon, a mingled scene of sublimity and terror. Between three and four o'clock, six other of the battering-ships indicated the efficacy of red-hot shot; and the approaching day now promised us one of the completest defensive victories on record.

Brigadier Curtis, who was encamped with his

brigade at Europa, being informed that the enemy's ships were in flames, and that the calmness of the sea would permit his gun-boats to act, marched, about 3 o'clock a.m., with a detachment, to the New Mole; and, drawing up his twelve boats in such manner as to flank the battering-ships, compelled their boats to abandon them. As the day approached and the garrison fire abated, the brigadier advanced and captured two launches filled with men. These boats attempted to escape, but a shot killing and wounding several men on board one of them, both surrendered, and were conducted to Ragged Staff. The brigadier being informed by the prisoners that many men were through necessity left by their friends on board the ships, he generously determined to rescue them from the inevitable death which seemed to impend. Some of these infatuated wretches nevertheless, it is said, refused at first the deliverance which was tendered to them, preferring the chance of that death which appeared inevitable to being put to the sword, which they had been persuaded would be the consequence if they submitted to the garrison. Being left, however, some moments to the horrors of their fate, they beckoned the boats to return, and resigned themselves to the clemency of their conquerors.

Whilst the navy were thus humanely relieving their distressed enemy, the flames reached the magazine of one of the battering-ships to the northward, which blew up, about five o'clock, with a dreadful explosion. In a quarter of an hour following, another, in the centre of the line, met with a similar fate. The wreck from the latter spread to a vast extent, and involved our gun-boats in the most imminent danger: one was sunk, but the crew were saved. A hole was forced through the bottom of the brigadier's boat, his coxswain killed, and the strokes-

man wounded, and for some time the crew were obscured in the cloud of smoke. After this very fortunate escape, it was deemed prudent to withdraw toward the garrison, to avoid the peril arising from the blowing-up of the remaining ships. The brigadier, however, visited two other ships in his return, and landed 9 officers, 2 priests, and 334 private soldiers and seamen, all Spaniards, which with 1 officer and 11 Frenchmen who had floated in the preceding evening, made the total number saved amount to 357. Many of the prisoners were severely and some of them dreadfully wounded. They were instantly, on being brought on shore, conveyed to our hospital, and every remedy administered necessary for their different cases.*

During the time that the marine brigade were encountering every danger in their endeavours to save an enemy from perishing, the batteries on the isthmus (which ceased the preceding evening, most likely for want of ammunition, and which had opened again upon the garrison on the morning of the 14th) maintained a warm fire upon the town, which killed and wounded several men; and three or four shells burst in the air, over the place where their countrymen were landed. This ungenerous proceeding could not escape the observation of the spectators in their

* The following extract from a contemporary account by a French officer, who served in the besieging army, and was an eyewitness of this scene, shows a generous appreciation of the efforts made by the garrison to succour those with whom they had been so lately contending:—"Je n'ai ni l'anglomanie qui exagère le mérite de la nation Britannique, ni la haine nationale qui dissimule; mais c'est pour moi une satisfaction bien douce de payer aux Anglais, libérateurs des malheureux laissés dans les prames, le tribut d'éloges que méritaient dans ce moment leur courage et leur humanité. L'Espagne et la France doivent être à jamais reconnoissantes de cette génerosité inouie."

camp, and orders probably were sent to the lines for the batteries to cease, as they were silent about ten o'clock.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the marine brigade in relieving the terrified victims from the burning ships, many unfortunate men could not be removed. The scene at this time exhibited was as affecting as that which had been presented in the act of hostility had been terrible and tremendous. Men crying from amidst the flames for pity and assistance; others, on board those ships where the fire had made little progress, imploring relief with the most expressive gestures and signs of despair; whilst several, equally exposed to the dangers of the opposite element, trusted themselves, on various parts of the wreck, to the chance of paddling themselves to the shore. A felucca belonging to the enemy approached from the Orange Grove, probably with the intention of relieving these unfortunate persons; but, jealous of her motives, the garrison suspected that she came to set fire to one of the battering-ships which appeared little injured, and obliged her to retire. Of the 6 ships which were still in flames, 3 blew up before 11 o'clock; the other 3 burnt to the water's edge, the magazines being wetted by the enemy before the principal officers quitted the ships. The admiral's flag was on board one of the latter, and was consumed with the vessel. The remaining two battering-ships, we flattered ourselves, might be saved as glorious trophies of our success; but one of them unexpectedly burst out into flames, and in a short time blew up, with a terrible report; and Captain Gibson representing it as impracticable to preserve the other, it was burnt in the afternoon, under his directions. Thus the navy put a finishing hand to this signal defensive victory.

During the hottest period of the enemy's cannonade,

A VIEW OF THE GRAND ATTACK UPON GIBRALTAR, SEPTEMBER 13, 1782.

From a drawing taken by Lieutenant Sandby, of the 12th Regiment. Reproduced from an engraving in the original edition.

[*To face p.* 302.]

the governor was present on the King's bastion, whilst Lieutenant-General Boyd * took his station upon the South bastion, animating the garrison by their presence, and encouraging them to emulation. The exertions and activity of the brave artillery, in this well-fought contest, deserve the highest commendations. To their skill, perseverance, and courage, with the zealous assistance of the line (particularly the corps in town, the 39th and 72nd regiments), was Gibraltar indebted for its safety against the combined powers, by sea and land, of France and Spain; and the marine brigade, though they had not so considerable a share in the duties of the batteries, yet merit the warmest praises for their generous intrepidity in rescuing their devoted enemies from amidst the flames.

Whilst the enemy were cool, and their ships had received little damage, their principal objects were the King's bastion, and line-wall, north of Orange's bastion. Their largest ships (which were about 1,400 tons burden) were stationed off the former, in order to silence that important battery, whilst a breach was attempted by the rest, in the curtain extending from the latter to Montague's bastion. If a breach had been effected, the prisoners informed us that "their grenadiers were to have stormed the garrison under cover of the combined fleets." The private men

* It will not be improper in this place to repeat, that General Boyd laid the foundation stone of the King's bastion, as it will be an apology for introducing a remarkable speech of the General on that occasion. In 1773, General Boyd, attended by Colonel Green, the chief engineer, and many field-officers of the garrison, laid the first stone of that work, with the ceremony usual on such occasions. Upon fixing the stone in its place, "This," said the General, "is the first stone of a work which I name the 'King's Bastion': may it be as gallantly defended, as I know it will be ably executed; and may I live to see it *resist the united efforts of France and Spain*."

complained bitterly of their officers for describing the battering-ships to be invulnerable, and for promising that they were to be seconded by ten sail of the line, and all the gun and mortar boats. They further told us, that "they had been taught to believe the garrison would not be able to discharge many rounds of hot balls; their astonishment, therefore, was inconceivable when they discovered that we fired them with the same precision and vivacity as cold shot." "Admiral Moreno," they said, "quitted the *Pastora*, which was the flag-ship, a little before midnight; but other officers retired much earlier." The loss sustained by the enemy could never be ascertained; but from the information of the prisoners, and the numbers seen dead on board the ships, we estimated it could not be less than 2,000 men including the prisoners. The casualties of the garrison, on the contrary, were so trifling, that it will appear almost incredible that such a quantity of fire, in almost all its destructive modes of action, should not have produced more effect, with respect to the loss of men. The return stands thus:

SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1782.

Regiments.	Killed. o.	s.	d.	r.&f.	Wounded. o.	s.	d.	r.&f.
Royal Artillery	1	0	0	5	3	0	0	21
12th Regiment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
39th ditto	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	5
56th ditto	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
58th ditto	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	4
72nd ditto	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	12
73rd ditto	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	8
97th ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Hardenberg's	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Reden's	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
De la Motte's	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Engineers, with the Artificer Company	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marine Brigade	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5
Total	1	2	0	13	5	0	0	63

Officers killed and wounded.

Artillery—Captain Reeves killed; Captains Groves and Siward, with Lieutenant Godfrey, wounded.
58th regiment—Lieutenant Wetham (who had permission to act as an artillery officer) wounded.
73rd regiment—Captain M'Kenzie wounded.

The distance of the battering-ships from the garrison was exactly such as our artillery could have wished. It required so small an elevation that almost every shot took effect; and the cannon thus elevated did not require the shot to be wadded —a circumstance not unimportant, as the time, which at point-blank would have been expended in doubly wadding, was employed in keeping up the cannonade with greater briskness. The damage done to our works held no proportion with the violence of the attack, and the excessive cannonade which they had sustained. The merlons of the different batteries were disordered, and the flank of Orange's bastion was a little injured; but the latter was chiefly done by the land fire, and was not of such consequence as to afford any room for apprehension. The ordnance and carriages were also damaged; but, by the activity of the artillery, the whole sea-line, before night, was again in serviceable order.

The enemy, in this action, had 328 pieces of heavy ordnance in play; whilst the garrison had only 80 cannon, 7 mortars, and 9 howitzers in opposition. Upwards of 8,300 rounds (more than half of which were hot shot), and 716 barrels of powder, were expended by our artillery. What quantity of ammunition was used by the enemy could never be ascertained. The following was handed about as an authentic list of the battering-ships:

	Names of the Battering-ships.	Guns in use.	Guns in reserve.	Men.	Commanders.
Two-decks.	*Pastora*	21	10	760	Rear-Admiral Buenaventura Moreno.
	Tailla Piedra ...	21	10	760	Prince of Nassau-Sieghen.*
	Paula Prima ...	21	10	760	Don Gayetana Langara.
	El Rosario ...	19	10	700	Don Francisco Xavier Munos.
	St. Christoval ...	18	10	650	Don Frederico Gravino.
One-deck.	*Principe Carlos*	11	4	400	Don Antonio Basurta.
	San Juan ...	9	4	340	Don Joseph Angeler.
	Paula Secunda...	9	4	340	Don Pablo de Cosa.
	Santa Anna ...	7	4	300	Don Joseph Goicoechea.
	Los Dolores ...	6	4	250	Don Pedro Sanchez.
		142	70	5,260	

N.B.—About 36 men to each gun in use, besides sailors, etc., to work the ships.

The afternoon of the 14th, several thousand men marched with colours from the enemy's camp to their lines, and many ships in the combined fleet loosed their top-sails. These motions, and the circumstance of many of their boats being manned, caused various speculations in the garrison. Whatever their future operations might be, it was prudent to be on our guard: the artillery were ordered therefore to remain upon the batteries, and the furnaces for heating shot to be kept lighted, lest the enemy should be prompted to put all to the stake, and attempt the garrison by a general attack. It was indeed afterwards rumoured, that such a design had been in contemplation, but was overruled by the duke, who was of opinion it would be exposing the fleet and army to inevitable destruction.

Notwithstanding their recent defeat, the enemy continued their cannonade from the isthmus; expending, during the remainder of the month, from 1,000 to

* M. d'Arçon, the French engineer, and projector of the floating batteries, embarked on board the *Tailla Piedra*, and quitted the ship about half an hour after midnight, as he states in the Defence of his plan of attack, which was published at Cadiz the following year.

2,000 rounds in the 24 hours; diminishing gradually, and confining their shells to the night. Their operations on the land side were also still carried on; and, if we were able to form any conjectures at this period, from their motions to the northward, their late misfortune did not seem at all to damp their hopes of succeeding against the garrison. A flag of truce went on the 15th with letters from our prisoners to the camp; and about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the combined fleet handed in their top-sails. Some hours afterwards they manned their yards, and fired a grand salute. We were at a loss to account for these singular rejoicings.* Lieutenant M'Namara, of the 72nd regiment, was wounded the same day at Willis's, where our working parties were employed clearing away the rubbish from the batteries.

The garrison having experienced the powerful efficacy of red-hot shot, and the governor thinking it expedient to have a continual supply of them, the engineers erected kilns (similar to those used in burning lime, but smaller) in various parts of the garrison. They were large enough to heat upward of 100 balls in an hour and a quarter; and, by this invention, hot shot were, if thought necessary, kept continually ready for use. Our former method of heating the shot was either in the grates and furnaces made for that purpose, or by piling them in a corner of some old house adjoining the batteries (as was principally the practice on the 13th), and surrounding them with faggots, pieces of timber, and small coal. By those means the artificers were enabled to supply the artillery with a constant succession for the

* The following extract from the French account of the siege, already quoted, may serve to explain this circumstance:—"Le 15, le Comte d'Artois fit à Dom Louis de Cordova l'honneur de se rendre à son bord."

ordnance. Answers were received in the afternoon of the 16th to the prisoners' letters. At night a great number of signals were made by the combined fleet. Shot were therefore again ordered to be heated, and the artillery cautioned to be ready to man the batteries. The 39th and 72nd regiments also lay fully accoutred. The same night, the sailors recovered the gun-boat which had been sunk on the morning of the 14th. As the prisoners informed us that intelligence had been received, previous to the attack of the battering-ships, that Lord Howe, with the British fleet, was preparing to sail for the relief of Gibraltar, the navy began to prepare to raise the *Brilliant* and *Porcupine* frigates, which had been scuttled in the New Mole; but their efforts, for some time, were not attended with success.

The Spanish officers, prisoners, with the Frenchmen who were taken up from the wreck upon the night of the 13th, were sent to the camp on the evening of the 17th. The remaining Spanish privates were encamped upon Windmill Hill, and given in charge to the Corsicans. Of the number who had been saved from the battering-ships, were an officer, a captain of marines, and 29 privates, who were wounded. Most of these recovered in our hospital; but the officer, notwithstanding every assistance and attention, died on the 17th. He was buried, the succeeding day, with all military honours, attended by the grenadiers of the 39th regiment.

When we reflected of what vast importance this grand enterprise was esteemed, and what immense sums had been expended in the ingenious and formidable preparations, it was observed, with no small surprise, by many who were present when the prisoners were landed, that the majority of them seemed to be past that age when the vital powers

are supposed to be in their greatest vigour. In an expedition where youth and strength best promised a favourable issue, this impolitic arrangement certainly could not pervade the whole! The Spaniards, from their dark complexion and meagre diet, have naturally, even when young, an aged look: and yet our observations seemed confirmed by other indubitable facts. Several bodies were thrown ashore, all of which seemed advanced in years; and one in particular appeared, from his grey beard and lean visage, past sixty. This corpse was horribly mutilated, and, with the miserable objects then under the care of our surgeons, convinced us, by ocular proof, of the dreadful havoc which our artillery must have made in the latter part of the day.

The westerly wind, which had cast up these unfortunate men, threw also on shore many trifling curiosities, and some things of value, which had floated on the surface of the bay after the battering-ships had blown up. Large wax candles, such as are usually burnt by the Romish priests before their altars; salt provisions; and a great number of ammunition boxes, containing ten rounds of powder in linen cartridges, were collected by the garrison the morning succeeding the defeat. Considerable pieces of mahogany, and some cedar, were saved from the wrecks of those ships whose magazines did not blow up, which were afterwards converted into various useful articles, serving as memorials of our victory. The governor had a handsome set of tables made for the Convent (the holes in the cedar, where the fire had penetrated, being filled up with sound wood, cut in various figures, forming a beautiful contrast with the burnt part), which will serve as a standing monument to the guests of the transactions of that glorious day.

The enemy's fire on the 19th was warmer than the few preceding days; and, which was rather extraordinary, it was continued whilst a flag of truce went from the governor, and another returned in answer. The officer who brought the Duc de Crillon's answer was one of his *aides-de-camp* the Comte de Rufigniac, colonel of the French regiment de Chartres. He pressed much to deliver his packet *personally* to the governor, and offered to submit to be blindfolded, provided he could be admitted into the garrison. He was even so urgent as to put his foot on board our boat, but was informed by the *aide-de-camp* that his request could not be complied with. As the Count would not be content with this answer, our flag was obliged to return to make known his extraordinary importunity to the governor, who politely excused himself the honour which the Count intended him, as the state of affairs would not then permit it. We shall have occasion again to mention the Count before the close of this work. The wind changed to the east in the night of the 19th; but the combined fleet still remained at anchor in the bay. The 20th, the mortar boats, which had remained inactive for some time, bombarded the garrison. They seemed to be attended by only four or five gun-boats, and were extremely cautious in directing their fire. Three shells fell in South Port ditch, amongst the 39th regiment.

Some changes took place in the governor's suite on the 21st: town-major Captain Foulis was appointed *aide-de-camp* to the commander-in-chief, and Captain Delhoste, of the 72nd regiment, town-major. A flag of truce, the same day, brought over a letter from the duke, in answer to one from the governor, of the preceding day. Their boat also brought clothing for the Walon prisoners. In the evening, about eight

o'clock, reports were received from the northern guards, that the enemy were in motion in their camp, and that troops were marching down to the lines. About the same time some extraordinary signals were made by the Spanish admiral. The three pickets remaining with the field-officer in town were immediately detached to reinforce the captain of Land Port, the lines, and Water Port, who, beside their usual guards, had each two pickets with them before. The 39th and 72nd regiments were again ordered to lie accoutred, and the artillery cautioned to be alert. By this disposition it was evident the governor still expected a further attack upon the garrison; and that evening it was most to be apprehended, as it was possible that the duke by that day might receive an answer from Madrid, indicating his future operations. Upward of 1,200 men being thus distributed in the vicinity of the Grand battery, with two regiments at hand to act as *corps de reserve*, we waited the further movements of the enemy. A little before midnight, a soldier of the 73rd regiment, removing rubbish from the Prince's lines, fell from the extremity, and was killed. An officer with a small detachment was immediately ordered from Land Port to bring in the body. This was discovered by the enemy's advanced parties, who opposed it by a brisk discharge of musketry in regular platoons. Queen's lines guard protected our party, who returned with the body without any casualties. The steady and animated fire supported by the enemy convinced us of the strength of their advanced posts. Nothing extraordinary, however, happened during the night after this occurrence.

The governor still continued the party at Lower Forbes's under the lines. On the night of the 23rd they discovered two men near the stone sentry-box,

within the ruins of the old barrier. The sergeant's orders (the reader may remember) were, not to fire but in his own defence, or in case of an alarm; but observing them measuring with a chain the distance between the foot of the rock and the Inundation, and thinking they might be persons of some consequence, and probably possessed of memorandums which might discover the motives of their manœuvres, he determined in this case to fire: they, in return, alarmed at his preparations, suddenly appeared on the defensive; but the sergeant was so lucky as to kill the principal person, and the other ran off. The body was instantly brought in, but no papers of consequence were found about him. He was thought to have been a volunteer. The sergeant, who was a cadet in General Reden's regiment, was soon afterwards promoted to a commission; but whether for this service, or in his *tour*, I cannot inform my reader.

The enemy's firing seemed now to be directed under the following regulations. About five or six in the morning, when the night-pickets were retiring from their posts, the cannonade commenced, and continued pretty brisk till noon. From twelve till two o'clock there was the usual intermission; for, as I have remarked before, the Spaniards would not be deprived of their customary nap, or siesta. In the decline of the day they discharged more or less, as their caprice dictated. About seven in the evening their cannon ceased, and their mortars took up the fire, continuing it till daybreak of the succeeding day. The ammunition now expended was generally from 400 to 500, and sometimes 600 shells in the 24 hours, with from 600 to 1,000 shot. The profusion of the former had greatly diminished the immense piles in their artillery park, and their howitzers were by no means so lavish of their troublesome shells as they had been.

The 24th, the *Brilliant* frigate was raised after much trouble. The same day about noon, upwards of 50 boats, which had been assembled for the attack, returned to the westward, and the mantlet-boats retired up the river Palmones. The departure of the former, with others which had left the bay the two preceding days, reduced their remaining small craft to a very trifling number.

CHAPTER VIII

Notwithstanding that we might naturally infer, from the dispersion of their small craft, that the enemy had at length relinquished the hope of taking Gibraltar by force of arms, yet the continuance of their cannonade, and the presence of the combined fleets (though frequent opportunities had offered for their return to the westward), rendered their conduct so ambiguous that we could form no idea what line they purposed to pursue in their future operations. We knew a relief was intended by the British fleet; but we could never imagine, if there was anything of an equality, that the enemy would venture an opposition, even though a victory might make them masters of Gibraltar. We waited, therefore, a few days to observe the movements of our adversaries, and by their actions expected to solve the difficulty.

The evening of the 26th of September, the whole of the combined army were under arms, formed in one line (which extended about four miles and a half) from the river Guadaranque to very near Fort Tonara. Some persons of high rank, attended by a numerous suite of cavalry, passed along the front; and they were not dismissed till after sunset. In the evening, Major Horsfall, of the 72nd regiment, was wounded by a splinter of a shell. At night, another of our workmen in the Prince's lines fell from the extremity, and was killed. A party was detached from Land Port to bring in the body, and the Queen's lines and other guards

ordered to protect them; the enemy, however, remained quiet. The 27th, their parties began to collect brushwood for fascines. This circumstance served the more to increase our doubts relative to their future conduct. The same day, our navy got up the *Porcupine* frigate; the engineers also finished the Royal and Green's Lodge batteries. The former is 1,300, and the latter 900 feet above the level of the isthmus; yet, notwithstanding this elevation, the enemy's fire, during Don Alvarez's bombardment, was found to be so galling, that the engineers were under the necessity of covering them with caissoned merlons. Several launches full of troops were observed, on the 29th, going on board the combined fleet. They were supposed to be marines who had been landed from the men-of-war previous to the grand attack. A flag of truce, the same day, brought clothes for the prisoners. Early on the morning of the 30th, a soldier of the 72nd regiment deserted from the sergeant's party at Lower Forbes's. His own brother was one of the guard. The same day, the combined fleets were joined by a line-of-battle ship. The enemy's cannonade still continued to be about 1,000 or 1,100 rounds of shot and shells in the 24 hours. Willis's batteries, and the extremity of the Prince's and Queen's lines, were much damaged from the 64-gun battery. A flag of truce went from the garrison with a letter, and two parcels, which had been sent on the 29th, directed for persons who could not be found amongst the prisoners. In the evening of the 30th, the mortar-boats bombarded our camp. At first we imagined they were alone, but the gun-boats soon afterwards fired upon the town from the northward. Two shells fell in the hospital, and wounded several of the sick. Other casualties also happened in the garrison. The prisoners upon Windmill Hill were alarmed, on two or three shells

falling near their camp; and it was not without some severity that their guards could keep themselves within the boundaries.

Early on the 1st of October, a boat came into Little Bay, with a Corsican on board, who had escaped from Algeziras. He had been mate of a neutral vessel; but, hearing that some of his relations were in the Corsican corps, he was determined to join his countrymen. The intelligence which he brought was, that Lord Howe only waited some reinforcements to sail for the relief of Gibraltar, and that the combined fleet were resolved to oppose him. Thus consoled with the hope of preventing the intended succours, the enemy still flattered themselves that Gibraltar must of necessity submit, through the mere failure of provisions. In the course of the day, the corpse of a Spanish officer was washed ashore under our walls: a purse of pistoles, and a gold watch, were found in his pockets. He was buried with respect, two navy officers attending the funeral; and the following day, a flag of truce delivered the watch and money, to be returned to his friends. The 2nd, several men were wounded by the enemy's shot, in the gallery above Farringdon's, which continued to be prosecuted with diligence; and Sergeant Harrop, of the 72nd regiment (a man universally noticed and admired for his gallantry and conduct in the works), was killed at Willis's. We observed, the same day, several boats which formerly had mantlets in the bow, returning from the river Palmones; having, as we imagined, undergone some alterations, to enable them to act as gun-boats. In case of a visit from the latter, signals were now determined upon, to intimate when the artillery were to man the batteries. Two guns quick, and a red flag hoisted upon a flag-staff erected on the South bastion, was to be the day signal; two guns

quick and a light, the signal for the night. In the evening, we had an opportunity of practising our new signals, by the approach of the mortar-boats, which bombarded the garrison for about two hours. The gun-boats, though perhaps attending them, did not fire. Previous to their visit, some muskets were discharged, and some signals made amongst the fleet; but we could not observe any particular movements.

In the forenoon of the 3rd, a Spanish frigate, with a flag of truce at her foretop-gallant mast-head, anchored within gun-shot of the Old Mole head, and immediately Captain Curtis went on board her. In the forenoon, Captain Curtis returned, and the frigate sailed back to the fleet. The wind at the time was so strong, that she was obliged to leave her anchor behind; which being mentioned to the governor, orders were sent, not to fire upon the boats when they returned to fish it up. The following day, Captain Curtis, accompanied by the governor's secretary and a naval officer, went in his barge to the Orange Grove; where a carriage waited, and conducted them to Buena Vista, the duke's quarters. The intention of this visit, we afterwards understood, was to establish a cartel with the Spaniards for the exchange of prisoners. Captain Curtis was introduced, by the Duc de Crillon, to his Royal Highness the Comte d'Artois, who thanked him, in very handsome terms, for his humanity and gallantry in relieving the unfortunate prisoners from the burning battering-ships; requesting Captain Curtis at the same time to inform the governor, that he entertained the highest esteem and respect for him, for his benevolence and liberality to the prisoners upon the same occasion. Before Captain Curtis returned, which was in the evening, the kilns for heating shot were lighted, and other preparations made, as if some

attack was expected. During this correspondence, the enemy's batteries observed a proper silence, in respect to the flag. Captain Curtis informed us, that Lord Howe, with the British fleet, was certainly on his passage to the Mediterranean. The garrison did not, however, feel that indescribable satisfaction and pleasure on receiving this intelligence, which we had experienced when Admirals Rodney and Darby were announced in 1780 and 1781. A French rear-admiral, in a 3-decker, with a frigate, and several smaller armed vessels, joined the combined fleet on the 3rd. The man-of-war had many signals flying when she entered the bay, which were answered by the Spanish admiral.

The enemy's cannonade was still continued, with such variation as their caprice dictated. The number of rounds of shot and shells usually exceeded 800 in the 24 hours, and sometimes amounted to 1,100 or 1,200. We amused them with a trifling return, directed chiefly to their parties, who, to our astonishment, were still forming considerable depôts of fascines and materials in the lines. Lieutenant Kenneth M'Kenzie, of the 73rd, was wounded on the 4th, in the communication from the King's to the Queen's lines. Two days afterwards, agreeably to a flag of truce of the preceding day, the Spanish prisoners (excepting 10 sick in the hospital, and 59 Walons and foreigners who requested to stay behind) were sent to the combined camp. The Walons who preferred staying in the garrison were embodied into those corps which chose to receive them. The 39th and 58th regiments entertained 10 each; and the remainder were incorporated with the Corsican company.

Two of the enemy's engineers had been observed on the 4th, picketing out a work, extending from the ruins of the Mahon battery to the western beach,

crossing the north-west angle of the farthest gardens. We were at a loss what to conclude from this appearance of a determination still to prosecute the siege. They did not, however, let us remain long in suspense; for, on the morning of the 6th, we discovered that they had erected a strong boyau of approach, extending, in the line before mentioned, about 430 yards—near a quarter of a mile. It was raised with sand-bags; and from its resemblance to the original epaulment of the 64-gun battery, some imagined it was intended for the same purpose; though the engineers were of opinion, it was only a communication to some additional works in embryo. Although the enemy, by throwing up this extensive work, gained by stealth a second advantage upon the garrison, yet the governor was determined, if possible, to prevent them completing it. The Old Mole head howitzers, with a warm fire from the heights, were opened at night upon this new object; and, as the former almost entirely enfiladed it, the enemy were so much annoyed, that it was never finished. The night of the 6th, they made good the communication to the parallel, from the extremity of the boyau, near the ruins of the Mahon battery, which was left imperfect the preceding night.

The following day, the St. Martin's battery took fire from the wadding or discharge of their own cannon. One merlon was destroyed, and another considerably damaged, before the flames were extinguished. We threw a few shells from below, to disturb them in this duty; but otherwise no particular notice was taken of the accident. The enemy found their situation so extremely warm in their new boyau, that, on the night of the 7th, they threw up a strong shoulder at the extremity near the beach, to protect them against the flanking fire of the howitzers of the

Old Mole head. Our shells were nevertheless fired with such judgment and dexterity as just to clear the traverse, and seemed to do as much execution in the interior part as before. Great quantities of fascines, etc., were scattered in the rear; whence we concluded they purposed working in the night, but had been prevented by the vivacity of our fire. They also repaired the St. Martin's battery. A flag of truce brought over letters for the governor and Captain Curtis on the 8th; and, at night, a boat sailed for Leghorn with a midshipman and 6 sailors, bearing home dispatches from the governor. This was the first boat or vessel which left the garrison after the victory of the preceding month.

The enemy, about the 8th or 9th, adopted a new plan for the regulation of their bombardment during the night: every 10 or 15 minutes they discharged 5, 7, and sometimes 10 mortars at the same time, directing the shells principally to the same object. After a silence of the above period, they saluted us with a second volley, and so on till morning gun-fire. The number of rounds continued variable, from 400 to 600 shots, with almost the same proportion of shells, in the 24 hours. They were enabled to expend these immense quantities of ammunition by receiving constant supplies. The parties in the fascine park appeared now to be considerably increased, and an universal activity seemed still to prevail through the different departments. A person, ignorant of what had passed and suddenly brought to view their proceedings, might therefore naturally conclude from their operations, that they were elated with, and following up some success, rather than depressed by a defeat. On the night of the 9th, some signals were made at Cabrita Point, which were answered by the combined fleets, each ship showing a light.

The wind blew fresh westerly on the 10th; and two frigates and a cutter joined the combined fleets from that quarter. In the evening, a number of signals were made by the Spanish admiral, which were answered by various ships in the fleet. After sunset, the gale increased, and at midnight it blew a hurricane, with smart showers of rain. Signal-guns were repeatedly fired by the combined fleets; and from their continuance, and the violence of the wind, we concluded some of them were in distress. At daybreak, a Spanish two-decker was discovered in a crippled state, close in shore off Orange's bastion: she was under close-reefed courses, and had lost her mizen topmast. Observing her danger upon an enemy's lee-shore, she suddenly luffed up, and endeavoured to weather the garrison: as she passed several shots were fired through her from the King's bastion, which killed two, and wounded two others; and soon afterwards she grounded near Ragged Staff, and struck to the garrison, hoisting an English Jack over her own colours. A boat from the *Speedwell* cutter immediately took possession of the *San Miguel*, or *St. Michael*, of 72 guns, commanded by Don Juan Moreno, a Chef d'Escadre. The officers and men, to the number of 634 (many of whom were dismounted dragoons), were immediately landed, and conducted to the quarters before occupied by their friends upon Windmill Hill. The governor was present when they were brought ashore, and generously permitted them to take their baggage unsearched, and the officers their stock of fresh provisions. When the morning cleared up, so as to admit of our observing the state of the combined fleets, we discovered the whole in great disorder. One was on shore near their grand magazine; a French ship of the line had lost her foremast and bow-sprit; one, a 3-decker, was

missing, supposed to be driven from her anchors to the eastward; and three or four were forced half-bay over (two within range of the garrison), where they all seemed to be in a very precarious situation. Many of the parapet boats, and other small craft, were also driven on shore near the Orange Grove. If the storm had continued a few hours longer, it is not improbable that a 3-decker, with several other ships, would have suffered the fate of the *St. Michael.* The wind, however, abated as the day advanced; and, when the swell would permit them to assist the disabled ships, the boats were busily employed in carrying out anchors and cables to those which appeared most in distress. The garrison were not idle spectators of these movements; several sea mortars were soon brought to bear on the nearest ships, and one was in a short time obliged to move; but anchoring again off Point Mala, we continued annoying her with shells and red-hot shot, till she warped out of our range.

The prisoners were no sooner landed from the prize, than the seamen began to lighten the vessel, by removing her powder ashore, and cutting away the mizen-mast: but she remaining still aground, they carried out anchors to prevent her going farther ashore, intending to renew their exertions to warp her off at high water. The *St. Michael* was esteemed one of the best sailors in the Spanish navy. She was a new ship, built at the Havannah; very lofty between decks, which were of mahogany, and her beams of cedar. When the combined fleets appeared in the English Channel the *St. Michael* was one of the leading ships, and was also in the squadron which fired upon the garrison the 9th of September, when the Duc de Crillon opened his batteries. The Spanish officers informed us they had received intelligence,

the preceding day, of the approach of the British fleet; which had induced Admiral Cordova to order the combined fleets to lie at single anchor, and prepare to weigh at the shortest notice: that they were thus situated when the gale came on; and, the hurricane still increasing, a 3-decker, early in the morning, ran foul of the *St. Michael* and forced her from her anchor: that she immediately set sail, but, as the event had evinced, found it impossible to weather the Rock.

The intelligence of Lord Howe being so near, now, for the first time, gave us sensible pleasure; not so much on account of our personal situation, as of the advantage which the enemy's recent misfortunes would give his lordship over his opponents, as well toward accomplishing the object of his orders, as affording him a further opportunity of acting as his lordship's well-known abilities might dictate. We were so elated by our enemy's distress, that some were so sanguine as to anticipate the most glorious conclusion of the war and our own sufferings. Our hopes, however, were soon depressed by the intelligence of Lord Howe's great inferiority in number. Thirty-four sail to oppose forty-two, which still remained at anchor in the bay, gave us reason to be apprehensive for the safety of the British fleet. The navigation of the Straits was so precarious, that if his lordship once entered the Mediterranean, he might probably be prevented from returning for a considerable time; and the enemy, though now distressed, might, by the assistance of the camp, soon refit, and attack him under every advantage. By this digression I am, however, anticipating the regular narrative. In the afternoon a French two-decker sailed to the eastward, and soon after a settee came in from the west, and fired several guns as she entered the bay. At this

time it was so very hazy in the Straits, that we could not see the opposite coasts. About sunset several large ships were discovered through the haze; and soon after, the *Latona* frigate, Captain Conway, anchored under our guns, and informed us that the ships in the Straits were the van of the British fleet, commanded by Lord Howe, consisting of 34 sail-of-the-line, including 11 three-deckers, with 6 frigates and 31 ordnance transports, and a reinforcement of upward of 1,600 men for the garrison. Captain Conway further told us of the great anxiety which prevailed at home relative to the situation of Gibraltar; and that it was only off the southern coast of Portugal that Lord Howe had his uneasiness removed, by receiving intelligence of the enemy's complete defeat. This welcome information, he said, was accompanied by advice, that "the combined fleets had taken their station in the bay of Gibraltar, resolutely determined to prevent, if possible, the intended relief." We learned that, upon receiving the latter intelligence, the admirals and principal officers were summoned on board the *Victory*; where particular instructions and orders were communicated, in expectation of an engagement, which was considered as unavoidable.

Although the enemy's signals for the approach of the British fleet were made early in the afternoon, yet the Spanish admiral exhibited not the least appearance of opposition to any reinforcements being thrown into the garrison. This favourable opportunity was, however, lost; owing, as Lord Howe expresses in his official letter, to "the want of timely attention to the circumstances of the navigation." Only four or five transports reached the Rock; the rest, with the fleet, were carried by the current into the Mediterranean. At night, or early on the 12th, Captain Curtis

ADMIRAL THE EARL HOWE.

[*To face p.* 324.

sailed in the *Latona*, to inform Lord Howe of the calamity which had befallen the enemy's fleet. At noon the British fleet appeared in good order off Estepona or Marbella; and the transports, with the frigates, were working to windward to gain the bay. As they approached the isthmus the enemy saluted them from their mortars, and fired upon them from behind the eastern advanced guard-house.

Whilst the British fleet, with the transports, were thus critically situated, the combined fleets were very active in repairing their late damages, and in forming a line of battle along the shore. In the evening a number of troops were embarked on board them from the camp. Their xebeques, cutters, armed brigs, and gun-boats, also assembled in Sandy Bay, with an intention probably of picking up our straggling transports. In the close of the day, however, this fleet of craft returned to their main fleet. At night the *Panther* man-of-war, and several transports, anchored in the bay.

The enemy on the land-side persevered in their cannonade; and observing that the *St. Michael* had run aground within the range of their batteries, threw great numbers of shells, with an intent to destroy her. Many burst over her, and some fell very near; but, as their artillery could only be directed by her masts, none fell on board. They pointed their usual weight of fire against our works, which the governor (now that a prospect of supplies appeared) returned with unusual vivacity. Their new boyau severely felt the effect of our ordnance. It was considerably deranged, and the enfilading howitzers at the Old Mole head prevented them from strengthening it with any additions of consequence. In the garrison orders of the 12th, the following extracts from the dispatches received by the governor were inserted:—

G.O. "Extract from a letter to the governor, from the Right Hon. the Earl of Shelburne, principal Secretary of State to his Majesty. Dated St. James s, July 10th, 1782.

'I am also honoured with his Majesty's command to assure you in the strongest terms, that no encouragement shall be wanting to the brave officers and soldiers under your command. His royal approbation of the past will no doubt be a powerful incentive to future exertions; and I have the King's authority to assure you, that every distinguished act of emulation and gallantry which shall be performed in course of the siege by any, even of the lowest rank, will meet with ample reward from his gracious protection and favour. These his Majesty's intentions you will communicate to every part of your garrison, that they may be perfectly satisfied their royal master feels for the difficulties they are under, admires their glorious resistance, and will be happy to reward their merit."

"Extract from a letter to the governor from the Right Hon. Gen. Conway, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces. Dated August 31st, 1782.

'I am now to add that I have the King's command to inform you, that he is in the greatest degree satisfied with the brave and steady defence made by your garrison; and his Majesty is desirous of showing them every mark of his royal approbation. It is in this light that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to consent to granting bât and forage-money, as a proper indulgence to your officers."

These extracts were perused by the garrison with great satisfaction, as they demonstrated that the safety of Gibraltar was esteemed a matter of the first im-

portance; and flattered us with the agreeable hopes that our late services would be duly appreciated by our friends and countrymen.

The British fleet, at daybreak on the 13th, was still off Marbella, with the wind at west. About 9 o'clock a.m. the Spanish admiral made the signal for the combined fleets to weigh anchor. By 1 o'clock the whole were under way. At three a French rear-admiral, being the last of the rear division, cleared the bay. Their number in all amounted to 80 sail, of which the following, I believe, is an accurate account: 6 three-deckers, 38 two-deckers, including several fifties (total, 44 men-of-war); 5 frigates, 29 xebeques, cutters, armed ships, and brigs; also 2, imagined to be fire-ships. Notwithstanding little doubt was to be entertained of the enemy's intention of leaving the bay, the *Panther* man-of-war remained at anchor with several officers of the garrison on board, whom the governor had permitted to act as volunteers in the expected engagement. When the combined fleets had cleared the bay, they stood some time to the southward, and leaving a line-of-battle ship and two frigates to prevent the *Panther* from joining her admiral, drove with the current some leagues to the eastward. They then appeared to edge down towards the British fleet, which was in close line of battle upon a wind, with their heads to the southward; the transports, with the frigates which had been beating up, falling behind them to leeward. Thus were both fleets situated at the close of the evening. Before the enemy had totally quitted the bay, Captain Curtis landed in a small boat from the *Latona* frigate, with 20,000*l.* in specie for the garrison, having narrowly escaped being cut off by the combined fleets. He told us the British fleet were in high spirits, and impatient to engage, not-

withstanding the enemy's great superiority. When the combined fleets first appeared in motion, the Spanish prisoners who had been landed from the *St. Michael* were so overjoyed, that they could not forbear expressing their ecstacies in so riotous a manner as to call for some severity, to confine them within the limits of their camp.

As our observations on the manœuvres of the fleet were interrupted soon after sunset, we impatiently waited for the succeeding day to be spectators of the action, which was now considered as impossible to be avoided; and orders were therefore given for preparing several wards in the Navy hospital for the reception of the wounded: but, on the dawn of the 14th, the fleets, to our astonishment, were some leagues distant from each other; the British being to leeward in the south-east quarter, whilst the combined fleets appeared in the north-east, off Estepona. In the evening the British fleet could be discovered only from the summit of the Rock. It seemed to the garrison that the Spanish admiral, by having the weather-gage, had it in his option to bring the British fleet to action if he pleased. The fleets being thus separated, the *Panther*, about noon, endeavoured to join Lord Howe, but put back for want of wind. Seventeen gun-boats came from Algeziras, apparently to prevent her leaving the bay; but observing her cast anchor, they returned.

The enemy's cannonade on the land side was continued with great vivacity. A few days, nay, probably hours, were to turn the balance for or against their future hopes of obtaining the grand object of their wishes: they were not therefore economical in their ammunition; nor was the garrison in the least behind them in the brisk use of their ordnance. Lieutenant Gromley, of the Royal Artillery, was mortally

wounded in the evening at Willis's, and died soon after he was brought to the hospital.

Part of the combined fleets, in the morning of the 15th, was seen (though the weather was very hazy) off Marbella. The British fleet was out of sight; the *Panther* neverthless attempted to join them. About 8 a.m. the wind came about to the eastward. In the forenoon nine polacres sailed from the Spanish camp, with troops on board for Ceuta. This brought to our recollection the critical state of that garrison both as to men and provisions, when Admiral Rodney was in their neighbourhood in 1780; and the enemy, from embracing this opportunity of sending supplies, appeared not entirely to have forgotten it. About noon, the British fleet was discovered in the offing, to the south-east of Ceuta, standing under an easy sail towards the Rock. At night the *Latona*, with 8 or 10 transports, anchored in the bay. They informed us that the *Buffalo* man-of-war, with the remaining 12 transports, had separated (by order) from the fleet, but had not afterwards joined. This intelligence gave us some uneasiness for their safety; but we flattered ourselves they were gone, agreeably to instructions, to the Zafarine Islands, the place of rendezvous in case the fleets engaged. Captain Conway, after a short conference with the governor, returned in the morning of the 16th to the British fleet, which was cruising to the eastward of the Rock, with the wind at east. The combined fleets were not in sight: we concluded therefore that they were gone to Malaga to make further repairs, and join those ships which had been forced from the bay on the 11th. Since the arrival of the first transports, the garrison had been busily employed in disembarking the supplies. The former fleets had brought us principally provisions; this brought us only men and ammunition, which

probably might, without this supply, have become as scarce articles as the former had been.

The exertions of the navy not being successful in floating the *St. Michael*, a hundred sailors were detached on board on the 17th, to their assistance ; and not long afterwards, she was anchored off the New Mole. It was peculiarly fortunate that she grounded on a bank of sand, though she was surrounded with rocks: her bottom was therefore little injured. Sir Charles Knowles, Bart., who had been formerly on this station, was appointed to command her. The wind had now changed to the south-west ; and, in the forenoon of the same day, a British frigate appeared from the west. She made a signal when off Europa, which being answered by our fleet, she immediately joined them. At night, the gun-boats being heard in the bay, our batteries were manned to receive them ; but, upon a gun being fired from the *St. Michael*, they threw up their rockets and returned. Some were of opinion that they meditated an attempt to cut her out. The 18th, the wind again came about to the east ; and the *Buffalo*, with eleven of the missing transports, arrived in the course of the day. These ships, as we had conjectured, had separated from the fleet, and were proceeding to the place of rendezvous, when, not hearing any firing, and the wind veering about, they returned, and were very near joining the combined fleets, but discovered their error time enough to rectify it. The missing vessel, they informed us, had been taken by the enemy, some days before, off Malaga ; and, having on board the wives and baggage of the two regiments which were on board the fleet, and were intended for our reinforcement, her capture greatly distressed those corps, and the garrison heartily condoled with them. The *Latona*, in her return to the fleet, chased and boarded

a vessel, which proved to be a Spanish fireship. The crew, deserting her, were conducted, by two gunboats attending, to a xebeque at some distance, which afterwards went into Ceuta. The prize was sent into the bay. About noon, 4 or 5 men-of-war arrived from the fleet, with the 25th and 59th regiments. Lord Mulgrave, who commanded the disembarkation, landed the troops with the greatest expedition, under the line-wall at the New Mole, Rosia and Camp bays, and returned to Lord Howe off Tetuan. The two regiments were encamped before 10 o'clock at night; the former behind the barracks, the latter upon Windmill Hill. We now learned that the admiral, having accomplished the object of the expedition, intended to embrace the favourable opportunity of the wind, and immediately return to the westward. In the course of the night, the fire-ship brought in by Captain Conway was purposely set on fire, and being anchored apart from the shipping, blew up without doing any damage. The *Latona* soon afterwards joined the British fleet. Captain Vallotton, the governor's first *aide-de-camp*, embarked in her to bear home the governor's public despatches. Captain Curtis also went in her, to communicate information from the governor to Lord Howe; and did not return.

At daybreak on the 19th, both fleets, to our great astonishment, were in sight; the combined fleets being some leagues to windward. When the British fleet was abreast of Europa, Lord Howe dispatched the *Tisiphone* fireship, with a further supply of powder collected from the fleet. The British fleet afterwards put before the wind, and stood, under an easy sail, in close order to the westward. The van of the combined fleet, composed of French ships, followed with a press of canvas at some distance. By 2 o'clock p.m. Lord Howe's fleet was out of sight; but the Spanish

ships sailing heavily, it was night before they disappeared. Though fully convinced of the prudence of his lordship's conduct, it was no very pleasing prospect for a British garrison to behold a British fleet, though inferior in force, lead the enemy. At night, the wind changed to the south-west; and the succeeding day, a brisk cannonade was heard from that quarter. This, however, could not proceed from the action which afterwards took place between the fleets, as the firing was heard early in the morning. Some time on the 19th, a guard of 2 subalterns and 96 men was ordered from the 25th and 59th regiments on board the *St. Michael*, where they remained till she was completely repaired.

Several large ships were observed, on the 20th, to be anchored at some distance from Algeziras; and, as 6 or 7 were conjectured to be fireships, precautions were accordingly taken, and the batteries from South bastion to Europa ordered, in case of alarm, to be doubly manned. The enemy, the same day, got off the man-of-war which ran ashore near their grand magazine. In the evening some movements were observed in the French camp; and on the succeeding day most of the tents were struck. In the afternoon, the resident Spanish priest was confined to his house, for holding conversation with some of the prisoners on Windmill Hill. The enemy's cannonade was still continued, upon an average of about 500 or 600 rounds in the 24 hours. They lined some part of the new boyau with fascines, and raised a few traverses in the rear, notwithstanding our brisk fire: they were, however, prevented from making any additions of consequence. On the 22nd, a polacre arrived from Algiers, with intelligence from the British Consul, that Lord Howe had sailed for the relief of Gibraltar. Happily his lordship had effected that business, and,

probably, before they at Algiers were informed of the British fleet having left England.

The extreme distress which the garrison had experienced in the close of the years 1779 and 1780, and the great profits which from the exigencies of those periods had arisen to the adventurers who ran the hazard of a voyage with provisions for our relief, were by this time pretty generally known at home. The favourable opportunity of a safe convoy under the British fleet, prompted, therefore, many masters of transports, some of whom had been in the garrison before, during the war, to lay in a stock of various articles, with the prospect that the distresses of their friends might afford these truly humane and generous patriots an occasion to sell them, on their arrival, at their own price. Although these supplies were most highly acceptable, yet the garrison was not at this time in such absolute need of their assistance, as to purchase them at those enormous prices which before had been given with pleasure; nor in justice did we think, from the little risk the adventurers ran, that they deserved such immense profits. A committee of officers from every corps assembled on the 23rd, to consider what measures to pursue in order to prevent such impositions in future, and, as every article brought to the garrison was sold at public auction, it was unanimously agreed, that a certain price should be fixed upon each article, allowing such profit as might reasonably be thought adequate to the hazard; and, when the estimate was published, every officer, I believe, pledged his honour not to exceed the terms therein specified. (See App.)

The prudent and manly regulation of the committee was strictly attended to for about a fortnight, but it had not that immediate effect we expected; many of our generous countrymen, rather than dispose of

their ventures for a profit of 150, and in some instances 300 per cent, very liberally determined not to land them, but to sell them for a trifling advantage at Lisbon, or elsewhere, in their way home. We should nevertheless have soon got the better of their obstinacy had we continued determined and consistent ourselves; but some individuals who preferred self-gratification to the public good, beginning to evade the agreement, the whole was cancelled and the demands of the adventurers became afterwards as exorbitant, if not more so than before. So little dependence is there upon the adherence of a multitude to any sumptuary regulations, however essential to their real interest.

The mortar-boats, on the night of the 23rd, paid us a visit, and did considerable damage. Their shells were chiefly directed towards the New Mole. The *Hector* cutter, in government service, was sunk by a shell, and everything on board lost. Several other vessels narrowly escaped the same fate. We fired upon them from Willis's and the Old Mole; but their gun-boats were silent. The 24th, we observed that the enemy had struck the tents of four or five battalions, and two regiments were seen this day marching along the beach. The day following some baggage was observed being removed from the Duke's quarters; which gave us great hopes that his Grace was preparing to leave the camp, and that matters were verging towards a conclusion. In the evening a deserter came in, a native Catalonian. He informed us there had been an engagement between the British and combined fleets, but could give us no particulars. He further told us that their camp was breaking up: 16 battalions had already marched away, and others were preparing to decamp: that they had ceased to work in their approaches; and that their night-guards consisted of

4,000 men, under the command of 2 brigadier-generals: concluding with acquainting us, that the winter camp before the garrison was to consist of 20,000 men: that additional gun-boats were building to harass us constantly; and that a corporal and 12 men were stationed in the gardens to prevent desertion. The 26th, the tents occupied by the Duke's corps encamped before Buena Vista were struck; which served to increase our hopes, that the prospect was not far distant of an end to our fatigues. Don Juan Moreno left the garrison the same day, with a flag of truce. Our boat could not learn any further account of the engagement; but the officers were informed, that a general peace was expected, as the independence of America had been acknowledged by Great Britain.

More battalions left the enemy's camp on the 27th: their cannonade nevertheless was continued, and several shot ranged as far as the entrance of Windmill Hill; a distance of about 5,000 yards. Their camp was still decreasing on the 28th and 29th; and we judged from our observations, that about 23 battalions, with a brigade of artillery, had marched into the country. The last deserters said many had taken their route to Cadiz. The 30th, we observed the enemy had stationed a guard under the Rock near the Devil's Tower. They were taken some notice of by our artillery, who endeavoured to annoy them with small projectiles from the summit of the northern front. The *Tisiphone*, Captain Sandys, with five or six ordnance-ships (having 160 Jews on board), sailed for England early in the morning of the 31st. The same day, a soldier of the 97th regiment was killed at Rosia, by a long range shot from the isthmus. This shot must have ranged more than two miles and a half.

Three deserters came in on the 2nd and 4th of

November, but could give no satisfactory information relative to the action between the fleets. They said the French troops had quitted the camp with the Royal volunteers. The enemy's camp continued to break up on the 7th and 8th; though some of the regiments, it was imagined, took possession of the large building eastward of Point Mala, which had been built for a hospital. On the 7th, two men-of-war and a sloop (supposed to be French, from the West Indies) passed to the eastward. The Spanish gun-boats seemed to suspect they were enemies, and intended to come in; as they were in motion, and appeared to be preparing for an attack. The 8th, 23 gun-boats paraded at a short distance from the garrison, extending in a line ahead to the southward. We expected an attack upon the *St. Michael*; but, an easterly wind springing up, they returned. They had scarcely got back, when a signal was made at Cabrita Point, and they again put about. Our attention was engaged by this manœuvre; and, upon investigating the cause, we discovered a sloop standing toward the garrison from the eastward. If this vessel had continued the course she then steered, she might undoubtedly have reached the Rock: whether, however, it was owing to the westerly current off Europa, or the ignorance of the crew, we could not determine; in the course of an hour she drove so considerably to leeward as to be out of the protection of our guns, and, after receiving several discharges of round and grape from the gun-boats, was boarded by the enemy. Sir Charles Knowles, Bart. (who since Captain Curtis's departure commanded in the bay), ordered several barges out to her assistance, but to no purpose. A boat, with five of her crew, escaped to the garrison, and informed us she was laden with sugar and tea from Falmouth. Soon afterwards a Danish dogger

was brought to an anchor in the bay, by a gun from Europa: she was laden with rice and pilchards from England. A flag of truce on the 9th went with a letter to the duke; and, in the evening, another brought over Ensign Lewis, of the 58th regiment, with a quarter-master and a volunteer of the 25th, who had been taken in the *Minerva* brig, with the baggage, etc., of the 25th and 59th regiments. This flag also brought over other prisoners. By these gentlemen, we learned that an engagement had taken place between Lord Howe and Admiral Cordova, and that the latter was returned into port with his fleet much shattered.

After the departure of the fleets, little attention was paid by the enemy to the blockade. Not one cruiser was now to be seen in the Straits or to the eastward, and few vessels of force were stationed at Cabrita Point. The idea of gaining Gibraltar, either by force or stratagem, seemed at length to be totally relinquished. Their cannonade from the land nevertheless was continued; but, as it gradually diminished, and scarce exceeded at this time 250 rounds in the 24 hours, we imagined it would in a short time totally cease. The *St. Philip's Castle*, and several ordnance-ships, had left the bay the evening of the 8th; and, on the 10th and 12th, two light vessels came to Algeziras, which, from their appearance, were thought to be of the latter. On the 12th, a flag of truce went with a letter to the duke. Whilst it was out the enemy's gun-boats commenced a smart cannonade upon the *St. Michael* (which was now refitted), whilst their mortar-boats bombarded our camp. We returned their fire, and two of the mortar-boats retired very early, the others following them in about an hour. Three or four shot were fired through the *St. Michael*, but no other damage was received. Our

flag returned just as the cannonade ceased. As it appeared probable that the enemy might renew their attacks upon the prize, Colonel Williams, who commanded the artillery, ordered more mortars to be distributed along the sea-line, from the King's bastion to the New Mole fort. The 15th, a regiment quitted their camp; and at night their workmen raised about 20 traverses in the rear of their advanced boyau, extending from the parallel about half the length of the work. Our fire at this period was variable. The day following, between 20 and 30 transports, with troops on board, sailed under convoy of two frigates for the westward. Their artillery also about this time removed most of the ordnance from their park to the landing place, where we numbered 30 cannon and 5 mortars, with a great quantity of shot and shells ready for embarkation. The 17th, a xebeque and several armed vessels and gun-boats anchored at Cabrita Point, as if they had determined to renew the blockade. Three days after, all the Spanish prisoners taken in the *St. Michael* (excepting a few who chose to remain behind) were sent to the camp. The Spanish officers, on this occasion, informed us that there had been an engagement between the British and combined fleets, which had ended to the advantage of the former. In the evening of the 20th, a party of about 100 men were seen to go from the eastern part of the enemy's parallel to the back of the Rock. We could not at that time account for the marching of these troops. The small craft continued at Cabrita Point; the men-of-war and larger vessels being at anchor off the Orange Grove. Four sail of the line and 3 frigates beside xebeques, etc., were now in the bay. The enemy, on the 21st and 22nd, embarked a vast quantity of powder from their grand magazine on board the men-of-war. Most of the spare ordnance had already

been shipped on board, and others were removing daily toward the beach.

Two boats arrived on the 23rd from Portugal: they brought certain intelligence of the preceding action between the fleets. The particulars of this intelligence were, that a partial action had taken place between the British of 34 ships, and the combined fleets of 46 ships of the line; that, though the latter had the weather-gage, they studiously avoided a close engagement; and, after a cannonade of several hours, hauled their wind and directed their course to Cadiz. The same day Lieutenant John M'Kenzie, of the 73rd, was dangerously wounded at Willis's. The enemy's fire now scarcely exceeded 150 rounds. Two more boats got in from Faro the night of the 26th. Our success in obtaining these welcome supplies rendered the enemy more vigilant and active to intercept them. Every boat, even friends, which approached the Rock, raised their suspicion.

Though every appearance in their camp indicated that they had given up all hopes of subduing the garrison by force, their parties on the isthmus continued to be very busy, and some evenings they made additions of traverses to their works. Heavy timber was also brought forward to the parallel, but for what purpose we could not then imagine. Their advanced parties had likewise the audacity frequently to approach half-way upon the causeway from Bayside; but, the artillery having orders to scour the gardens, and the neighbourhood of Bayside, with grape from the Old Mole, their curiosity in a short time was pretty well cooled. Toward the close of this month, the enemy's fire became more faint and ill-directed, whilst ours was more animated and effectual. Our engineers continued to be constantly engaged. The rebuilding of the whole flank of the

Prince of Orange's bastion, 120 feet in length, with solid masonry (which was now nearly finished), in the face of such powerful artillery, can scarcely be paralleled in any siege.

In the beginning of December, the *Achilles* ordnance ship, with two or three boats, arrived from England and Portugal. The 6th, a Venetian ship was driven by the current under the guns of Europa. We fired to bring her to, and the master instantly came ashore and informed us she was bound to London; but, before he could return, his vessel was boarded by three gun-boats, which towed her to Algeziras. The master then came into the garrison, and at night was permitted to follow his vessel. The following evening a German deserted to us from the Walon guards. He informed us that the enemy stationed every evening a guard of 300 men near the Devil's Tower, where they had miners at work in a cave, hoping to form a mine to blow up the north part of the Rock. We paid no kind of attention at first to this intelligence, so ridiculous and even chimerical the scheme appeared. Recollecting, however, that a party had been observed to march that way some evenings before, and remarking, upon a closer inspection, that every evening a numerous body of men approached along the eastern shore toward that quarter, we began to give some credit to this singular information.* The above deserter also informed us that the enemy had removed some ordnance from the parallel, but that their guards and advanced parties were still very strong.

By this period, our engineers had penetrated a

* In 1727, the besiegers formed the design of blowing up Willis's batteries by a mine; but it is imagined they found it impracticable, as they never attempted to spring the mine, though the Journal of that Siege mentions it was loaded.

considerable distance in the gallery above Farringdon's battery, and had opened five embrasures to the front of the Rock; and, to have a more secure communication to this singular work, a covered-way was sunk, by blasting the rock from the above-mentioned battery to the entrance of the gallery. The success with which this work had been prosecuted, and the considerable advantages which promised to result from it when finished, induced the governor to order that a similar battery, but only for two guns, should be made in the rock near Crouchett's battery, above the Prince of Hesse's bastion; and the workmen had now made some advances therein. On the 12th, a guard-boat of the *St. Michael*, with 2 officers and 7 sailors, went over to the enemy. We afterwards learned from the officers, who returned in a flag of truce, that the sailors rose upon them, saying they were resolved to go over to the enemy: that Lieutenant Small, who commanded the boat, drew his hanger, and attempted a stroke at the man who was spokesman upon the occasion; but that he was knocked down by the coxswain with the tiller of the rudder; that, whilst he was thus senseless, they had it in debate to throw him overboard; but, by the intercession of the young midshipman, he was preserved, and, when taken ashore, was some time before he recovered.

The enemy's parties under the Rock, near the Devil's Tower, began now to engage our curiosity. Every part of the north front was explored, to endeavour, if possible, to discover what they were about. At length, on the 15th, a place was found above Green's Lodge, whence we could distinguish a part of their work. The communication with this post, being along a level beach, was greatly exposed to our fire. When their parties were discovered advancing from the east flank of the 64-gun battery, our artillery at Willis's

and on the heights prepared to salute them. They were permitted to approach unmolested within 200 or 300 yards, when a general volley was discharged of cohorn-shells, with grape, seconded by the mortars on the Levant battery, loaded with hand-shells, or grenades, quilted together. A *chance*, or mine, was sometimes sprung upon them from the top, when they had nearly got under the Rock; the stones from which added not a little to their confusion and loss. Notwithstanding that they were in this manner obliged every evening to pass the gantelope of our fire, they continued to bring materials, and maintained their post with surprising obstinacy. Some of the guard were seen frequently, in the day, to advance from their cover; a party of Corsicans, who hitherto had done no other duty than guard the prisoners on Windmill Hill, were ordered therefore to the post above Green's Lodge, to fire wall-pieces upon those that appeared from below.

A flag of truce went from the garrison on the 17th. The Spanish *aide-de-camp* informed us that the preliminaries of a general peace were expected to be signed in the course of the month. The succeeding day another flag went from the governor with letters to the duke: it had scarcely returned, when 29 gun and mortar-boats commenced a spirited attack upon the *St. Michael*, and other ships, at anchor off Buena Vista. Since these boats had made a custom of firing upon the garrison, we never remarked them to be arranged with more judgment, or to behave with greater gallantry, than they did on this occasion. The mortar-boats composed the centre division, and a division of gun-boats was arranged on each flank: their line of battle extending about 2 miles. They got their distance the first round, and retained it with such precision, that almost every shell fell within 50

yards of the *St. Michael*, which was the chief object of their attack. The seventy-fourth shell fell on board, about mid-ship; pierced the first, and broke on the lower deck; killed 4, and wounded 11 sailors, 3 of them mortally. After this accident, Sir Charles Knowles, being apprehensive of the most fatal consequences if a shell should fall into the magazine, removed the powder, through the opposite port-holes, into a launch, which was immediately towed under the Rock; 80 barrels, which could not be removed, were thrown into the sea. The enemy still maintained a warm fire, but, it is imagined, did not observe that any had fallen on board the ship. Several shells carried away ornaments and parts of her rigging: fortunately, however, she received no further injury. Not one shell came ashore from the boats. Captain Gibson, at the commencement of the action, rowed out with 8 gun-boats from the New Mole, and very warmly attacked their northern division. On his appearing in motion, 3 parapet boats advanced from the Orange Grove to take our boats in flank. One of this number was, however, soon disabled by the garrison, and the other two joined the main body. When the enemy had expended their ammunition, the mortar-boats retired, and the gun-boats covered their retreat in a most beautiful manner. They stood towards the Orange Grove, and embarked some of their crews on board the men-of-war. Three of the line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and a xebeque, with several bomb-ketches, and other vessels, which were all laden with military stores, sailed to the westward. The enemy's land batteries, as is mentioned before, were gradually diminishing in their fire; but, upon this occasion, they supported the boats from the bay with a very animated additional cannonade.

The remainder of the enemy's ships, laden with

military stores, sailed on the night of the 19th from the Orange Grove to the westward. The wind continued easterly; and, on the succeeding night, or rather the morning of the 21st, blew so strong a gale, that the *St. Michael* was driven from her anchors more than half-bay over; every exertion was made to recover her station, but all proved ineffectual; when fortunately an eddy-wind brought her about, and Sir Charles Knowles was happy to run her aground within the New Mole on a sand-bank south of the tank. The gale was so powerful on Windmill Hill, that the tents of the 59th regiment were torn from the pickets, and carried a considerable distance from the camp-ground. To obviate the like disagreeable circumstances in future, that regiment was removed to encamp in South Port ditch, opposite Sydow's (formerly Hardenberg's) regiment. This arrangement obliged the town-parade to be changed; and the guards afterwards assembled on the Red Sands, which continues at this time to be the general parade. In the course of the day, the *St. Michael* was warped into deep water, and moored in the New Mole. At night a deserter came in: he informed us that the enemy had 20 miners at work near the Devil's Tower, protected by a strong guard; that we annoyed their communication with that post very much, and every evening killed and wounded many men. In consequence of this intelligence, our fire toward that quarter was increased. A flag of truce, on the 20th, had informed us that the women belonging to the 25th and 59th regiments were at the enemy's camp, waiting more moderate weather, to be sent by water into the garrison. The 22nd, they were received; but, upon their landing, they were conducted to the Naval hospital, where some few of them were detained by the faculty as exceptionable. Lieutenant Small, of the

navy, came over on the 23rd, in a flag of truce. He told us the enemy's small craft had materially suffered from the storm which had so greatly endangered the *St. Michael.* The Duc de Crillon, the day following, visited the parallel, and was present in the western boyau, whilst an engineer picketed out a work at the extremity of it, near the beach. At intervals, we could now distinctly hear the explosion of the mines in the enemy's cave or gallery at the Devil's Tower. Few men were, however, to be seen in that neighbourhood; though at night they continued the reliefs, and brought materials as usual.

In the afternoon of the 25th, being Christmas Day, we observed the gun and mortar-boats in motion, and, about 4 o'clock, 18 of the former and 11 of the latter advanced from Algeziras, apparently with an intention of renewing their attack upon the unfortunate *St. Michael*; but, 11 of our gun-boats, under the personal orders of Sir Charles Knowles, opposing them, the centre division of mortar-boats, and the southward division, stood toward Europa, and began a warm bombardment upon our camp; throwing their shells indiscriminately from Windmill Hill to South Shed. Our gun-boats in this action behaved with great gallantry, directing their opposition entirely against the mortar-boats; the fire of which they in a great measure diverted from the shipping. A blind shell, nevertheless, fell into the ward-room of the *St. Michael*; and another shell carried away the mizen-mast of the *Porcupine* frigate, and burst in the state cabin. Seven or eight shells fell within the hospital-wall: one exploded in a ward, and killed and wounded several of the sick. Several houses and sheds were also destroyed, and others considerably injured. In short, it was thought to be the warmest attack we had ever experienced from the gun-boats; and our

men, being mostly in spirits after their Christmas dinner, were consequently less upon their guard. One was killed, and seven were wounded, in the camp. As our artillery had time to prepare, the enemy's cannonade was returned with great vivacity; but the mortar-boats and southward division had taken so judicious a station, that few ordnance could be brought to bear upon them. We had, nevertheless, some reason to conclude their loss was superior to our own. Their land batteries (with the addition of Fort St. Philip and the Black battery, which had been silent some time) upon this occasion, as upon the last, increased their fire upon the town. We therefore had the enemy upon our whole front, from Europa Point to Land Port. At a quarter past six o'clock the mortar-boats retired, and were covered in their retreat by the gun-boats as before.* This dishonourable and cruel mode of prosecuting the war, we had reason to think, would be continued till a peace should put an end to all hostilities. The enemy had been very industrious in impressing this pleasing information on the memories of the women who had been lately detained by the weather in their camp. They were told, for their comfort, that, as the besieging army had been reluctantly compelled to relinquish the idea of recovering Gibraltar, they were determined to harass and alarm the garrison by successive attacks from the gun and

* It was during this attack that the materials from which this work is compiled were in the most imminent danger of being entirely destroyed. A 13-inch shell from the enemy's mortar-boats, falling above the camp guard, rolled along the road leading from Buena Vista and entered the author's marquee, brushing the pillow of his bed, and lodging closely under the corner of the bedstead; though lighted when it entered, and though its force must have been greatly spent in the ricochets before it entered, the fuse luckily broke as it lodged within, and the marquee, with its contents, by that fortunate circumstance was preserved.

mortar-boats, which, for the purpose of having regular reliefs, were to be increased in number: thus, by being exposed to a revengeful enemy, the prospect before us promised to be more irksome and vexatious than the more interesting period which had passed.

Although the enemy's fire from the isthmus was almost discontinued, the governor, towards the conclusion of December, made up for their deficiency by a more animated discharge than usual; every night the whole north front appeared a continued line of fire. The Devil's Tower chiefly engaged his attention: their guard at this post was generally relieved about seven or eight o'clock in the evening, if not prevented by our fire. The work of sand-bags, which we could see from one spot, was totally destroyed; and the sloping timbers which they had placed against the rock to protect them from the overhead fire, were much shattered by the weighty fragments of rock which were hurled upon them from above. The night of the 27th, the enemy opened three embrasures in the epaulment at the east end of the 64-gun battery. The embrasures were then masked, and, the succeeding evening, were faced with fascines. The night of the 29th, they raised a work of sand-bags, of about 100 feet in extent, at the western extremity of the new boyau. It was picketed out when the duke was present, and extended to the rear at right angles with the epaulment. The 30th, 19 gun and mortar-boats came out of the river Palmones, where they generally retired to repair, after firing upon the garrison. The evening of the succeeding day being very calm, and some movements being observed amongst them, we expected they would commence the new year with another visit: but we were happily disappointed. Since we were sufficiently persuaded of the conduct which the enemy had determined to pursue for the

remainder of the war, the governor again adopted the idea of retaliation: the gun mounted on Colonel Williamson's elevated carriage was removed to the Old Mole head, and other preparations were made to annoy their camp, when the boats should renew their attack. In the course of December several vessels and boats arrived with stores and supplies. Others likewise left the bay, and flags of truce frequently passed between the governor and the duke. Their purport was not, however, publicly known.

The last day of December, a party of the navy fished up one of the guns from the wreck of the battering-ships; and the following day, the 1st of January, 1783, the gun, which was of iron and a 26-pounder, was drawn in procession by the British tars, with a Spanish ensign, which had been taken from on board one of the ships, displayed over it, and attended by a band of music, playing "God save the King." *

Our observations made upon the enemy's proceedings at the Devil's Tower were as yet very unsatisfactory, though by the enterprising activity of a sergeant in the artificers, we knew that they were in reality at work in a cave: for he had descended, by means of ropes and ladders, so low down the face of the rock as to see the mouth of the cave, and hear the people converse. Early, therefore, on the morning of the 4th, three of the governor's staff went in a barge, protected by two gun-boats, to reconnoitre this post. Their curiosity prompted them to approach nearer than was perhaps prudent, as the guard fired

* Many more of these guns were afterwards recovered from the wrecks; and most of them, being of brass, were sold; the produce of the sales, and other moneys arising from the head-money granted by Parliament for the battering-ships, and the sale of the *St. Michael* prize, were proportioned in shares to the garrison and marine brigade. —See Appendix.

musketry upon them, and a gun or two were discharged from Fort Barbara. Soon after they returned, the new 3-gun battery, at the east end of the 64-gun battery, was unmasked, though the guns were under metal. In the afternoon of the same day, the gun and mortar-boats advanced in two divisions from Algeziras, and when half-bay over, were joined by a third division of 5 from Cabrita Point, consisting in all of 33. The centre division of 16, principally mortar-boats, was warmly attacked by Sir Charles Knowles, with 11 of ours, whilst the northern division was as briskly annoyed from the King's bastion. The division of 12 gun-boats had the boldness to approach within the range of grape, and suffered very considerably. One was undoubtedly sunk by a howitzer shell, and others were greatly damaged. Two of the mortar-boats were also driven from the line, and several others were observed to be in confusion. The land batteries, which had been silent since the duke had visited the lines on the 2nd of January, seconded the attack by sea with a very animated fire. The bay being calm, and little wind blowing to carry off the smoke, the appearance of this attack altogether, from the extent of the front engaged, was tremendous. Lieutenant Holloway, of the engineers, *aide-de-camp* to General Green, was wounded by a splinter of a shell, which fell opposite to General de la Motte's quarters at the southward, where the staff at the southward usually assembled upon these occasions. Two men were killed, and one wounded, in the garrison; but the seamen had no casualties. The *St. Michael* also on this occasion escaped; and it was remarked not one shell fell near the hospital. When the boats had expended 83 shot and 206 shells, they retired: from the isthmus 578 shot and 102 shells were discharged in this short period.

When our artillery had put the batteries in order, a party was detached, about eight in the evening, to the Old Mole; and upward of 100 rounds of red-hot shot, with large and small shells, were thrown into the enemy's camp: all appeared to answer, except the heavy shells, the fuses of which were in general too short for the range. The following morning, several pieces of a gun-boat, an oar, with some bread, garlic, etc., were seen floating in the bay, and gathered by our boats. This served to strengthen our conjecture of the preceding evening, that one of their gun-boats had been sunk in the action. In the evening, about nine o'clock, our northern guards were surprised with a sudden discharge of musketry on the causeway, and in the neigbourhood of Bayside: it was immediately returned from Land Port and the lines, with a few rounds of grape from Covert Port battery; after which there was a dead silence. The next morning a bloody hat, with several shot-holes through it, was taken up near Bayside. We could not otherwise account for this firing than by supposing that some of the enemy, attempting to desert, had been observed and pursued. One or two of our own men in the Flêche were wounded by the scattered grape-shot from the Covert Port battery.

The evening of the 9th, the enemy paraded with only 23 boats, seemingly with an intention of renewing their attack upon the shipping and garrison; but Sir Charles appearing with his small force, his opponents thought proper to retire. We were, however alarmed, early the next morning, by their firing upon the garrison: they approached very cautiously, and directed their fire towards the New Mole. Sir Charles Knowles had his boats soon manned; but had not been long out before one of them was unfortunately sunk by a splinter from one of our own

shells which burst in the air. The crew were instantly taken up by their friends, and the boat towed in. The land batteries opened as before, and continued firing until the boats retreated. Our shipping received no damage, nor were any seamen hurt; but in the garrison we had 1 killed and 15 or 16 wounded, beside a Jew, an inhabitant. One of their shells fell into the north pavilion of the South barracks, and burst upon the second floor: the officers were luckily out; for the rooms, above and below, were totally destroyed. When the smoke had sufficiently dispersed, we numbered 38 boats, but (as their sterns were towards us) could not distinguish how many carried mortars. The governor saluted their camp in the evening from the Old Mole. A boat arrived on the 11th from Faro, with dispatches to the governor. The *Brilliant* frigate was ordered soon afterwards to be prepared for sea.

The enemy's cannonade from the land, except when the gun-boats fired, was at this time so trifling that it scarcely deserved the name of a continuation. Our engineers were therefore employed in repairing the curtain of the Grand battery, the north face and flank of Montague's bastion, with the adjoining curtain; and, though the men were much exposed in this duty, the enemy seldom if ever molested them. Their parties continued bringing various materials from the parallel to the post at the Devil's Tower. We never allowed them to pass, or even appear, without a tremendous volley of shells and grape, and fragments of stones discharged from the summit of the Rock. But our artillery were not solely engaged with the enemy in this quarter; every annoyance that could be devised was directed against them in all quarters. The ordnance, since the arrival of the last dispatches from Faro, were kept in as quick

action as the metal would permit. A party of Corsicans were also stationed in the lines to punish their patrols, who frequently had the audacity to approach within a few yards of the extremity. The evenings of the 18th and 19th, the enemy played off a number of rockets and other fireworks at Algeziras, accompanied with several discharges of cannon. They likewise saluted us from the lines with a volley of shells, and 21 rounds of shot. We could not divine the cause of these rejoicings. On the 25th some sparks of fire communicating to an ammunition box at Middle Hill guard, the contents blew up, and carried away great part of the wall and guard-house, bruising and burning several of the guard. The engineers were immediately ordered to repair the breach, and not quit the post till the works were in their original state. A reinforcement of a subaltern from the line, with a drum and 21 rank and file, was ordered likewise to join that guard every evening; and other regulations relative to it were established.

On the 29th Lieutenant Angelo Raffaeli, of the Corsican company, was slightly wounded in the lines. In the evening, the gun and mortar-boats, in number 28, fired upon our shipping and the camp. They took their stations off Europa and Rosia, apparently determined to avoid the fire from the King's bastion (which they had found so fatal to these enterprises), and directed their fire principally against the *Brilliant* frigate, which was then at anchor off Buena Vista, and the *St. Michael* in the New Mole. Their land batteries opened at the same time, directing a furious cannonade into the town, and along our northern front. The garrison returned their fire with great vivacity, though not with their usual success. Our gun-boats were also unfortunate, one of them being damaged very early in the action, and obliged to be

towed in. We had 3 men killed, and 11 wounded; 6 of whom were of the 59th regiment. The enemy discharged from their boats 236 shot and 225 shells; and from the isthmus, 555 shot and 245 shells; after which, the former retired, and the latter were silent. The next day 4 gun-boats fired upon the *Brilliant*, *en passant*, but soon retired. At night, a soldier of the artillery, who had been punished some time before, threw himself down the precipice from the Queen's battery at Willis's: he passed so quickly by the men on duty, that he was scarcely seen. In the course of the month, one of the 25th regiment deserted, and another of the 58th (who had been entertained from the number that remained behind of the prisoners who were taken in the battering-ships) was re-taken in attempting to get away. Two boats came in also from Faro, and a third was intercepted in her passage.

February was introduced by an animated fire from the garrison. Every part of the enemy's works felt the effects of our artillery. Thus affairs were proceeding, when, on the 2nd, letters from the Duc de Crillon informed the governor that the preliminaries of a general peace had been signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain. When the boats met, the Spaniards rose up with transports of joy, and cried out, "We are all friends!" delivering the letters with the greatest apparent satisfaction. They could not inform us what were the terms of the peace; which occasioned some anxiety in the garrison relative to the fate of Gibraltar. Previously to the boats meeting, the enemy discharged about 30 rounds, but never, after the letters were delivered, fired upon the garrison. Our artillery also ceased in the evening. The Spaniards, the succeeding day, advanced from their works, and conversed with our sentries in the lines, expressing their satisfaction that we were no longer

enemies. This intercourse was, however, forbidden by the governor, who ordered the guards to inform those who approached our works that all correspondence of this nature was to be suspended, till official accounts were received from England of the peace. General Eliott answered the duke's letter on the 3rd, and ordered the captain of artillery to fire an elevated shot, from Willis's, over any parties which might pass between their parallel and the Devil's Tower. The duke, on the 5th, informed the governor that the blockade by sea was discontinued; in consequence of which, a placard was published in the garrison, signifying that the port of Gibraltar was again open. About noon, an elevated gun was wantonly fired over their works, which was the last shot fired in this siege.

This return of tranquillity, this prospect of plenty, and relief from the daily vexations of so tedious a siege, could not fail to diffuse a general joy throughout the garrison. Indeed, such feelings are seldom experienced; they baffle all attempts to describe them: far beyond the pleasure resulting from private instances of success or good fortune, ours was a social happiness; and the benevolent sentiments acted upon the heart with additional energy, on the prospect of meeting those as friends with whom we had been so long engaged in a succession of hostilities.

The duke, on the 6th, informed the governor that the preliminaries had been signed the 20th of January at Paris, and that Gibraltar was to remain in the possession of Great Britain. From this period, operations on both sides were suspended; each party anxiously awaiting official accounts from England of the peace. Toward the close of the month, the duke began to withdraw some of the ordnance from the advanced batteries, and to remove materials from the parallel to the camp. The garrison, on the other

hand, were employed in making repairs, and in arranging various matters, which could not before be attended to. Several ships, and a number of boats, arrived from England and Portugal; so that provisions became every day more abundant, and consequently the prices of articles more moderate.

In the beginning of March, a schooner arrived from Barbary, with a letter accompanying a present of bullocks for the governor. We were ignorant of the contents of the letter: but, it was imagined, the subject was to request a renewal of our friendship. Two officers and 24 Corsicans, who in their passage to Gibraltar had been chased ashore on the coast of Barbary by the Spaniards, arrived also in this boat. The former informed us, that, upon the commencement of the attack of the battering-ships on the preceding 13th of September, the Moors at Tangier repaired to their mosques, imploring Heaven in behalf of their old allies; and that, on receiving accounts of the defeat of the enemy, they made public rejoicing, and gave every demonstration of their affection for the English nation.

When the cessation of hostilities took place, parleys were almost daily passing between the governor and the duke; and the Spanish *aides-de-camp* never omitted expressing their surprise that the governor had not yet heard from England. Their patience as well as ours was nearly exhausted, when the long-expected frigate arrived on the 10th of March: but, for some time, even when she had got into the bay, she kept us in suspense, by steering close along the Spanish shore, and showing no colours. At length, however, the British ensign was displayed, and the anxious garrison saluted her with a general huzza. She was the *Thetis* frigate, Captain Blankett; and, soon after she anchored, Sir Roger Curtis (who had been knighted for his conduct on the 14th of

September) landed with dispatches for the governor. The Duc de Crillon sent a parley to the garrison in the evening, which was answered the succeeding day. The subject of this correspondence probably was to appoint an interview between the generals, as, on the 12th, his Grace, attended by his suite, came down to the extremity of the western boyau, and sent an *aide-de-camp* to inform the governor he was arrived. General Eliott, attended by Lieutenant Koehler, his *aide-de-camp*, soon afterwards rode out by Lower Forbes's, and was met by the Duke on the beach, half-way between the works and Bayside barrier. Both generals instantly dismounted and embraced. When the common salutations were over, they conversed about half an hour, and then returned to their respective commands. The cannon in the Spanish batteries were now all dismounted; and large parties were daily removing them, with ammunition, also various materials, from their post at the Devil's Tower to the lines and camp. As their guards were now considerably diminished, numbers of deserters were daily coming over to the garrison. They were principally foreigners; and the reason they gave was a dislike to the Spanish service.

The duke, on the 18th, sent the governor a present of a grey Andalusian horse. The 22nd, the *St. Michael* man-of-war sailed for England, where she happily arrived safe. The day following, the governor, accompanied by General Green, the chief engineer, with their *aides-de-camp*, met the duke in the Spanish works: they were conducted by his Grace through the whole, and afterwards to the cave at the Devil's Tower. The governor dined with the duke at San Roque, and returned in the evening. The 31st, the Duc de Grillon, accompanied by the Marquis de Saya, Prince de Mazarano, Counts de Jamaique and de

Serano, Don ——, the intendant, and Captain Tendon, returned the visit. The governor received his Grace near Forbes's; and on entering the garrison, a salute was fired of 17 pieces of cannon from the Grand battery. When the duke appeared within the walls, the soldiers saluted him with a general huzza; which being unexpected by his Grace, it was said greatly confused him. The reason, however, being explained, he seemed highly pleased with the old English custom, and, as he passed up the main street, where the ruinous and desolate appearance of the town attracted a good deal of his observation, his Grace behaved with great affability.

The officers of the garrison were introduced by corps to the duke, at the convent. When the artillery were mentioned, he received them in the most flattering manner: "Gentlemen," said his Grace, addressing himself to them, "I would rather see you here as friends, than on your batteries as enemies, where," added he, "you never spared me." The duke afterwards visited the batteries on the heights. At Willis's he made some remarks on the formidable appearance of the lower defences; observing, whilst he pointed towards the Old Mole battery, that, "had not his opinion been overruled, he should have directed all his efforts against that part of the garrison." The good state of our batteries in so short a period produced some compliments to the chief engineer; and, when conducted into the gallery above Farringdon's battery,* his Grace was particularly astonished, especially when he was informed of its extent, which at that time was between 500 and 600 feet. Turning to his suite, after exploring the extremity, "These works," he exclaimed, "are worthy of the Romans." After dinner (at which were present

* Now called Windsor.

the generals and brigadiers in the garrison, with their suites), he passed through the camp to Europa, each regiment turning out without arms, and giving three cheers. The youth and good appearance of the troops much engaged his attention. When his curiosity was gratified in that quarter, he returned, and was conducted about 8 o'clock without Land Port, being saluted with 17 cannon on his departure. His horse started at the flash of the guns, and almost, if not entirely, unhorsed him; but he escaped without being hurt. The duke, in the course of the conversation at dinner, paid many handsome compliments to the governor and garrison for their noble defence. "He had exerted himself (he said) to the utmost of his abilities; and, though he had not been successful, yet he was happy in having his sovereign's approbation of his conduct."

Before the Duc de Crillon entered the garrison, the Comte de Rufigniac, colonel in the French service (who, the reader may remember, was very pressing for admittance into the garrison some few days after the defeat of the battering-ships, and who, for the sole purpose of seeing the place, had remained behind his brigade), was admitted into the garrison without the duke's knowledge; and, being in the Flêche at Land Port when the duke was approaching from Forbes's, his Grace could not avoid seeing him. As he had entered without the duke's permission, his Grace requested he might not see him at the convent; and the count, being informed of this, withdrew into the garrison, apparently much chagrined at the duke's particularity. When his Grace returned, it was said, orders were given not to permit the count to go back by way of the lines. The following evening, however, after satisfying his curiosity in the garrison, he returned.

The 2nd of April the Duc de Crillon quitted the camp to repair to Madrid. He was succeeded in command by Lieutenant-General the Marquis de Saya, or Zaya, who had accompanied his Grace into the garrison, and (what was very singular) had served as an officer at the preceding siege of Gibraltar in 1727. Deserters still continued coming over to us, and the Spaniards were employed in removing materials from the neutral ground to the lines. Letters often passed between the marquis and General Eliott; but, though the latter requested to pay his compliments at San Roque, the etiquette observed by the former (orders having been received from Madrid to prevent all intercourse) would not for some time permit him to receive the governor. The 15th of April Sir Roger Curtis sailed in the *Brilliant* frigate on an embassy to the Emperor of Morocco: he took with him, as a present, four brass 26-pounders (which had been weighed from the wreck of the battering-ships), with proportional ammunition.

His Majesty having been pleased to confer upon the governor the Most Honourable Order of the Bath,* as a mark of his royal approbation for the defence of Gibraltar; and having signified his pleasure by Sir Roger Curtis, that Lieutenant-General Boyd should

* This was not the only honour conferred on the general for his services in defending Gibraltar. Parliament voted him a handsome pension for life; and his sovereign, on his return to Britain in 1787, gave him an additional mark of his approbation by raising him to the British peerage, by the style and title of Lord Heathfield, Baron Heathfield of Gibraltar, with the honourable distinction of bearing, in chief, with his own arms, the arms of the garrison. General Boyd was also honoured with the Order of the Bath, and General Green distinguished by a baronetcy. After General Eliott's elevation to the peerage he was never employed on active service; and a short time afterwards he was attacked with paralysis, of which he died, at his residence near Aix-la-Chapelle, aged seventy-two.

act as his Majesty's representative in investing General Eliott with the insignia of the order, which ceremony was to be performed in as splendid and magnificent a manner as the state of the garrison would permit; the engineers, soon after the arrival of the *Thetis*, began to erect a colonnade upon the rampart of the King's bastion, that the honours might be conferred where the victory was gained. By the 23rd of April (St. George's Day) the colonnade was finished; and, every preparation for the ceremony being completed, the governor commenced by communicating to the troops the thanks of their king and country for their defence of Gibraltar. Detachments from all the regiments and corps, with all the officers not on duty, were assembled in three lines on the Red Sands at eight o'clock in the morning; and the governor taking post in the centre of the second line, and the usual compliments being paid, his Excellency addressed himself to the garrison as follows:

"Gentlemen—I have assembled you this day, in order that the officers and soldiers may receive, in the most public manner, an authentic declaration transmitted to me by the Secretary of State, expressing the high sense his Majesty entertains of your meritorious conduct in defence of this garrison. The King's satisfaction upon this event was soon divulged to all the world, by his most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament. The House of Lords and the House of Commons not only made the suitable professions in their addresses to the throne, but have severally enjoined me to communicate their unanimous thanks by the following resolutions:

'Die Veneris, 13 Decembris, 1782.

'Resolved, nemine dissentiente, by the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, that this House doth highly approve and acknowledge the services of the officers,

soldiers, and sailors, lately employed in the defence of Gibraltar; and that General Eliott do signify the same to them.'

'Die Jovis, 12 Decembris, 1782.

'Resolved, nemine contradicente, that the thanks of this House [Commons] be given to Lieutenant-General Boyd, Major-General de la Motte, Major-General Green, chief engineer; to Sir Roger Curtis, Knt., and to the officers, soldiers, and sailors, lately employed in the defence of Gibraltar.'"

The governor then proceeded:

"No army has ever been rewarded by higher national honours: and it is well known how great, universal, and spontaneous were the rejoicings throughout the kingdom upon the news of your success. These must not only give you inexpressible pleasure, but afford matter of triumph to your dearest friends and latest posterity. As a further proof how just your title is to such flattering distinctions at home, rest assured, from undoubted authority, that the nations in Europe and other parts are struck with admiration of your gallant behaviour: even our late resolute and determined antagonists do not scruple to bestow the commendations due to such valour and perseverance.

"I now most warmly congratulate you on these united and brilliant testimonies of approbation, amidst such numerous, such exalted tokens of applause: and forgive me, faithful companions, if I humbly crave your acceptance of my grateful acknowledgments. I only presume to ask this favour, as having been a constant witness of your cheerful submission to the greatest hardships, your matchless spirit and exertions, and on all occasions your heroic contempt of every danger."

A grand *feu-de-joie* was then fired by the line, each discharge commencing with a royal salute of 21 guns.

Three cheers closed the ceremony. The commander-in-chief, general and field officers, afterwards withdrew; and the detachments (formed two deep) marched into town, and lined the streets leading from the convent, by the Spanish church and Grand Parade, to the King's bastion. About half-past eleven o'clock, the procession began to move in the following order: all uncovered, and two deep, except the troops under arms.

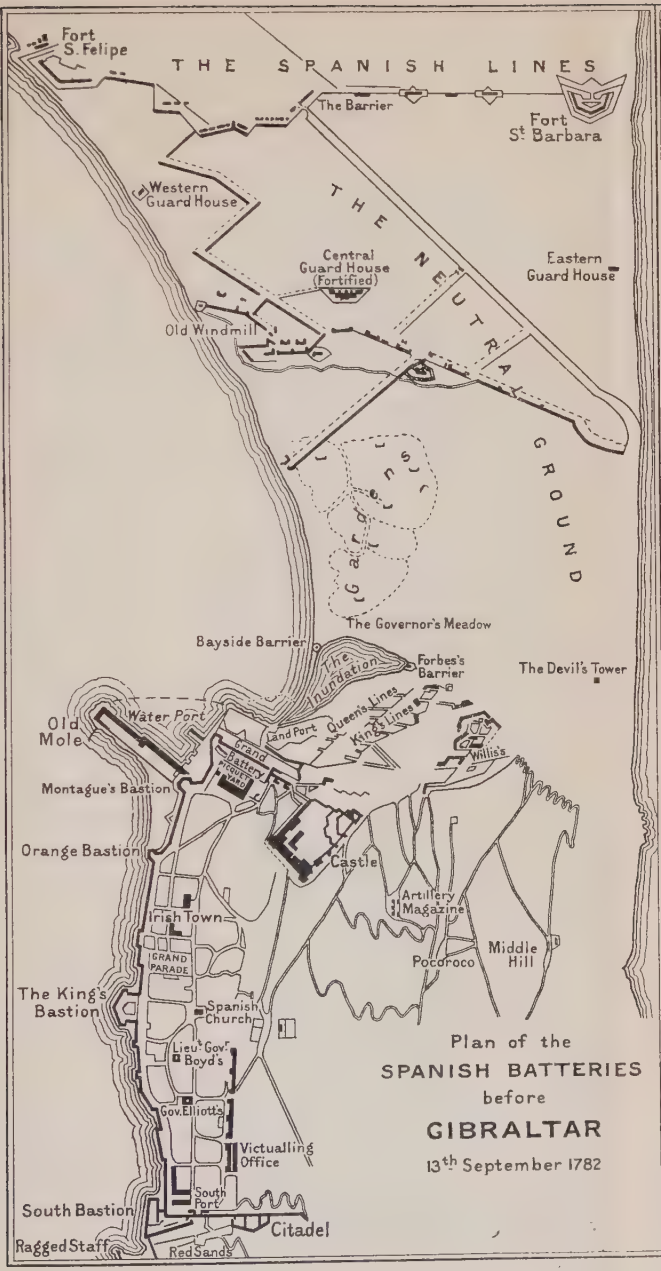
MARSHAL.
Music, 12th Regiment,
Playing
"See the conquering Hero comes."
ARTILLERY
QUARTER-MASTER-GENERAL, and
ADJUTANT-GENERAL, TOWN-MAJOR,
and DEPUTY;
With other Staff of the Garrison.
First Division of Field Officers,
Youngest first.
Music 58th Regiment.
The COMMISSIONER'S SECRETARY,
Bearing on a crimson velvet cushion
The Commission.
The COMMISSIONER'S AIDES-DE-CAMP.
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL BOYD, the
KING'S COMMISSIONER.
The GOVERNOR'S SECRETARY,
Bearing, on a crimson velvet cushion,
The Insignia
Of the Order of the Bath.
The GOVERNOR'S AIDES-DE-CAMP,
as Esquires.
GENERAL ELIOTT,
The KNIGHT ELECT;
Supported by Generals DE LA MOTTE
and GREEN.
Aides-de-camp to the Major-Generals.
MAJOR-GENERAL PICTON.
His Aide-de-camp.
The Brigadier-Generals, eldest first.
Their Brigade Majors.
Music, De la Motte's.
Second Division of Field Officers,
Eldest first.
Music, 56th Regiment.
The Grenadiers of the Garrison.

No compliment was paid to the knight elect; but, as the commissioner passed, each regiment, with the officers, saluted. When the procession arrived at the colonnade, the general and field officers placed themselves on each side of the throne; the artillery formed under the colonnade, and the grenadiers fronting the bastion, along the line-wall. The proper reverences being made to the vacant throne, the commissioner desired his secretary to read the commission: which being done, he addressed the knight elect in a short complimentary speech, taking the riband at the conclusion, and placing it over the governor's shoulder, who inclined a little for that purpose: three reverences were then a second time made, and each took his seat on a crimson velvet chair on each side of the throne, the commissioner sitting on the right hand. The governor was no sooner invested than the music struck up "God save the King." The grenadiers fired a volley, and a grand discharge of 160 pieces of cannon was fired from the sea-line. The procession then passed forward through the colonnade, and returned in the same order. The detachments were afterwards dismissed, and each non-commissioned officer and private received a pound of fresh beef and a quart of wine. The generals, with their suites, and the field-officers, dined at the convent. In the evening the colonnade was illuminated with different-coloured lamps, and transparent paintings in the back scene: and Sir George Augustus Eliott, with the lieutenant-governor and principal officers of the garrison, assembling at the King's bastion about nine o'clock, there was a display of fireworks from the North and South bastions, and the Spanish church; the principal of which were fired from the latter, being opposite to the company.

Thus in festivity and with honour, ended the

labours of the garrison of Gibraltar. During a period of three years, seven months, and twelve days (that is from the commencement of the blockade to the cessation of arms), we had experienced a continued series of watchfulness and fatigue, the horrors of famine, and every harassing and vexatious mode of attack which a powerful, obstinate, and revengeful enemy could devise. On reviewing the transactions of this period, two circumstances cannot fail to strike the attentive reader; viz. the very slow manner in which the enemy proceeded in their early operations, and the impossibility of maintaining so strict a blockade as to prevent all communication by sea. To evince these, and other circumstances not unimportant to military readers, I have been reduced to greater accuracy and minuteness than ordinary historians are obliged to observe; and instead of the acuteness of investigation, or a splendid sententiousness, I have been necessitated to pursue the narrative, almost uninterruptedly, in the tedious form of a journal. I have not presumed to intersperse many animadversions of my own: the only merit to which I can lay any claim, is that of a faithful narration of facts; and I confess I would at any time rather walk in the beaten track of truth, than mislead the judgment of my readers in the wilds of fancy and conjecture.

A return of casualties is annexed, also the expenditure of ammunition, both by the enemy and the garrison. These papers, as well as the estimate of provisions, I thought better to throw into the form of an Appendix, than to interrupt the narrative by their insertion.


Fort S. Felipe
THE SPANISH LINES
The Barrier
Fort St Barbara
Western Guard House
THE NEUTRAL GROUND
Central Guard House (Fortified)
Eastern Guard House
Old Windmill
Gardens
The Governor's Meadow
Bayside Barrier
The Inundation
Forbes's Barrier
The Devil's Tower
Old Mole
Water Port
Land Port
Queen's Lines
King's Lines
Willis's
Grand Battery
Montague's Bastion
Orange Bastion
Castle
Artillery Magazine
Irish Town
GRAND PARADE
Pocoroco
Middle Hill
The King's Bastion
Spanish Church
Lieut. Gov. Boyd's
Gov. Elliott's
Victualling Office
South Port
South Bastion
Citadel
Ragged Staff
Red Sands
Plan of the
SPANISH BATTERIES
before
GIBRALTAR
13th September 1782

S Felipe Castle
Jetty
N. Front Camp
Stone Jetty
Commercial Mole
Water Port Jetty
Old Mole
Land Port
Moorish Tank
Civil Hosp
King's Bastion
Palace
Ragged Staff
Signal Sta
Upper Road Tank
New Mole
South Barrack
Rosia Bay
Camp B
Buena Vista Pt
Shingle Pt
Europa Bay
Lit. Europa Pt
Europa Barracks
Europa Pt
Plan of
GIBRALTAR
1905
Yards
0
500
1000

APPENDIX

ÉTAT GÉNÉRAL DE L'ARMÉE ESPAGNOLE ET FRANÇOISE EMPLOYÉE AU SIÉGE DE GIBRALTAR,

SOUS LES ORDRES DE SON EXCELLENCE LE DUC DE CRILLON.

ÉTAT MAJOR DE L'ARMÉE ESPAGNOLE.
GÉNÉRAL EN CHEF LE CAPITAINE-GÉNÉRAL DUC DE CRILLON.

Lieutenans-Généraux.

D'Abarca, Commandant-Général des Ingénieurs.
Le Comte de Lascy, Commandant Général de l'Artillerie.
De Habor.
Le Comte de Revillagigedo.
Le Marquis de Casagagigal.

Maréchaux de Camp.

Le Marquis de Zayas d'haut-Regard, Commandant des Gardes Wallones.
De Tilly, Colonel d'Artillerie.
De Teller, Commandt. des Gardes Espagnoles.
D'Oliver, Major-Général de l'Infanterie.
Le Marquis de Mont-Hermoso, Major-Général de la Cavalerie et Dragons.
De Pachecho.
Le Marquis de Brancéforté.
De Roca.
Le Marquis de Torremansana.

Brigadiers.

De Garcia de la Mora.
D'Allenes.
D'Horces.
De Betchart.
D'Imperioli.
De Guevara.
De Tirrel.
Le Marquis d'Avilles.
De Caro.
De Gourales.
De Lancaster.
De Castel d'Oscius.
Le Prince de Montfort.
De Moya.
Le Marquis de Valparaiso.
De Nova Cerrada.
De Pachecho Giron.
D'Estacharia.
De Galazar.
De Gersale.
Druhat.
De Vedia.
Le Comte de Bussy.
De Gutierrer.
Le Baron de Steinborg.
De Moron.
De Pinto.
De Font.
De Totosa.
De Sangro.
De Servino.
De Colona.
Le Duc de Montellano.
De Pignatelli.
Le Marquis d'Alos.

INFANTERIE.*

Regimens.	Battalions.	Compagnies de Grenadiers.	Compagnies de Fusiliers.	Colonels.	Lieut.-Cols.	Majors.	Adjudans.	Porte-Drapeaux.	Capitaines.	Premiers Lieutenans.	Second Lieuts.	Sous-Lieuts.	Sergens.	Caporaux.	Tambours et Fifres.	Soldats.	Total de Bas-Officiers et Soldats.
Gardes Espagnoles ..	4	4	24	—	—	1	8	—	28	28	28	28	168	448	112	2184	2912
Gardes Wallones	4	4	24	—	—	1	8	—	28	28	28	28	168	448	112	2184	2912
Saboya	1	1	8	—	1	—	1	2	9	9	—	9	26	71	20	572	689
Cordova	1	1	8	—	1	—	1	2	9	9	—	9	26	71	19	572	688
Burgos	2	2	16	1	1	1	2	4	18	18	—	18	52	142	39	1144	1377
Murcia	2	2	16	1	1	1	2	4	18	18	—	18	52	142	39	1144	1377
Altonia	1	1	8	1	—	1	1	2	9	9	—	9	26	71	20	572	689
Volontaires d'Aragon	1	—	6	—	1	1	1	2	6	6	—	6	18	36	9	324	387
Ier. Reg. de Catalogne	2	—	12	1	1	1	2	4	12	12	—	12	36	72	17	1680	1805
La Princessa	1	1	8	—	1	—	1	2	9	9	—	9	26	71	19	572	688
Naples	2	2	16	1	1	1	2	4	18	18	—	18	52	142	39	1144	1377
Betchart	2	2	8	1	1	1	2	—	10	10	8	10	48	64	25	1054	1191
Compge. de Grenadiers	2	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	22	—	22	44	120	22	1152	1338
Cavalerie demontée ..	2	20	—	1	1	1	2	4	20	20	—	20	40	120	27	1160	1347
Dragons do.	2	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	22	—	22	—	—	—	—	—
Grenads. Provinciaux	6	60	—	3	3	9	6	—	60	60	—	60	120	360	60	3960	4509
Artillerie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	60	131	24	1126	1341
Volontaires de Crillon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Infantière ..	35	144	164	10	13	19	39	30	298	298	61	298	962	2509	612	20544	24627

* In this and the following tables marked with * the figures are not accurate; they have remained so for 120 years, and having been unchallenged during that long period may as well continue unchanged.

CAVALERIE ET DRAGONS.*

Regimens.	Escadrons.	Compagnies de Grenadiers.	Compagnies de Fusiliers.	Colonels.	Lieut.-Cols.	Majors.	Adjudans.	Porte-Drapeaux.	Capitaines.	Premiers Lieutenans.	Second Lieuts.	Sous-Lieuts.	Sergens.	Caporaux.	Tambours et Fifres.	Soldats.	Total de Bas-Officiers et Soldats.
Du Roi	1	—	3	—	1	—	—	1	2	3	—	3	6	12	2	108	128
De la Reine	1	1	3	1	—	1	1	1	4	4	—	4	8	16	3	156	183
Du Prince	1	1	3	1	—	1	1	1	4	4	—	4	8	16	3	156	183
De Bourbon	2	1	4	1	—	1	1	2	7	7	—	7	14	28	5	164	311
De Farnese	1	1	3	2	1	—	—	1	3	4	—	4	8	16	3	156	183
D'Alcantara	1	—	3	1	—	1	1	1	3	3	—	3	6	12	2	108	128
D'Algarves	1	—	3	2	—	1	1	1	3	3	—	3	6	12	2	108	128
De Calatrava	1	—	3	—	1	—	—	1	2	3	—	3	6	12	2	108	128
De San Iago	1	—	3	—	1	—	—	1	2	3	—	3	6	12	2	108	128
De Mendoza	1	1	3	—	1	—	1	1	3	4	—	4	8	14	3	156	183
De Volontaires	1	—	3	—	—	1	1	1	2	3	—	3	6	12	2	108	129
De Pavie, Dragons	2	1	6	3	1	1	1	2	6	1	—	7	14	28	10	264	316
De Lusitania	2	1	6	1	1	—	1	2	6	1	—	7	14	28	7	264	316
Total Cavalerie, etc.	16	7	58	12	7	7	9	16	47	43	—	55	110	220	46	2064	2440
Do. Infanterie	35	144	164	10	13	19	39	30	298	298	64	298	962	2509	612	20544	24627
Total général	51	151	202	22	20	26	48	46	345	341	64	353	1072	2729	658	22608	27067

ÉTAT MAJOR DES TROUPES FRANÇOISES.

BARON FALKENSTEIN, COMMANDANT EN CHEF.

LE MARQUIS DE BOUZOLZ, COMMANDANT EN SECOND.

État Major.

Le Marquis de Crillon, Brigadier.
De Portal, Major-Général.
Le Baron F. le Fort, Le Baron C. le Fort } Aides-Maj.-Généraux.

Brigade Françoise.

Régiment de Lyonnois: Le Vte. de Veneur, Maître de Camp, Col. — Le Marquis de Guerchy, ditto en second. — Dubourg, Lieut.-Col. — De Cappy, Major.

Régiment de Bretagne: Le Comte de Crillon, Maître de Camp, Col. — Le Vidame de Nassè, ditto en second. — Le Chev. de St. Roman, Lieut.-Col. — De Portal, Major.

Brigade Allemande.

Régiment de Boullon. Roy. Suédois: Le Comt. E. de Sparre M.-de-C., Col. — Le Baron d'Hamilton, M.-de-C. en second. — D. O. Conell, Lt.-Col. — D'Orsner, Major.

Régiment de Wimpffen: Le Baron de Wimpffen, M.-de-C., Col. — Le Baron de Nivenheim, ditto en second. — De Peyrier, Lieut.-Col. — O'Ghier, Major.

Aides-de-Camp.

Du Baron Falckenstein :—
Le Comte de Nesle de Fourette.
Le Chev. de Grave.
Le Chev. de Vault.
Le Chev. de Poncet.
Le Comte d'Argoult.
Le Comte de Perigord.
Le Comte de Lost.
Le Marquis de Laillebot.
Du M. de Bouzolz :—
Le Marquis de Travanec.
Le Chev. d'Oraison.
Le Marquis de Montaigu.

Artillerie.

De Goenand, Lieut.-Col.-Commandant.
De Barras, Capitaine, Aide-Maj.
D'Artan, Gromar de Quinten } Captnes.
D'Hemery, Cadman } Lieuts. en premier.
Le Ch. d'Alphonse, De Marten } en second.
Fich, Fournier } au troisième.
Hommes, 130.
Le Marq. de Puissegur, Capitaine, avec. brev. de Colonel.

Génie.

D'Arçon, Colonel.
Doria, Major.
De l'Hillier, De Bonleman, D'Assigny, De Samis } Capitaines.
Damoiseau, D'Aumont } Lieutenans.

Administration.

De Wildemonth, De Meunier } Captaines en second.
Officiers chargée du détail de la Tranchée.

Intendant de Rouissière.
Commissaire de Boileau.
Commissaire du Demaine.

Monmergue, Inspecteur, Demange, Directeur } Vivres.

Brochel, Directeur, Chaumel, Sous Directeur } des Postes.

Thion, Premier Médecin.
Bodners, Chirurgien
Massol, second do. } Hôpital.

Régimens.		D'Officiers Supérieurs.	D'Hommes.*
Brigade Françoise	De Lyonnois	65	1,024
	De Bretagne	65	1,016
Brigade Allemande	Royal Suédois	65	1,000
	De Bouillon	52	1,025
Total François		247	4,055
Espagnol		1669	27,067
Grand total		1916	31,122

33,038 Officiers et d'hommes.

Il y avoit un Corps d'Ingénieurs aux ordres de M. d'Abarca, composé de 8 Ingénieurs en Chef, 12 en second, 11 ordinaires, 14 extraordinaires, 12 Ajudans. Une Compagnie de Marechaussée, de 40 Cavaliers, aux ordres d'un Lieut. Il y a une Compagnie de Cadets, dont le Capitaine est un Colonel. Les Compagnies de Sapeurs ont chacune un Capitaine, un Lieutenan, un Sous-Lieutenan.

A GENERAL RETURN OF CASUALTIES.*

Regiments.	Killed.				Dead of Wounds.				Disabled by Wounds.				Wounded, but recovered.				Dead by Sickness.				Deserted.
	Officers.	Soldiers.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Officers.	Soldiers.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Officers.	Soldiers.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Officers.	Soldiers.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Officers.	Soldiers.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Rank and File.
Royal Artillery	2	1	0	20	0	0	0	8	0	2	0	11	8	2	1	105	1	1	0	34	1
12th Regiment	1	3	1	13	0	0	0	10	1	0	0	10	2	4	7	89	0	3	0	32	3
25th ,,	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	1	0	0	13	1
39th ,,	1	3	1	16	1	1	0	6	0	0	0	10	3	5	1	44	0	1	0	37	5
56th ,,	0	0	0	17	0	1	0	9	1	0	0	6	3	2	0	59	1	4	1	34	3
58th ,,	1	1	0	11	0	1	0	5	0	0	1	8	2	2	2	61	0	1	1	53	11
59th ,,	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	33	0
72nd ,,	0	2	0	31	0	2	0	21	0	1	1	21	3	11	5	109	0	1	0	47	9
73rd ,,	0	0	0	30	0	1	0	13	1	5	0	31	5	2	0	77	0	0	0	58	2
97th ,,	0	0	0	7	0	0	1	5	0	1	0	4	0	3	1	33	1	6	0	106	1
Reden's Regiment	0	2	0	7	0	0	1	5	0	1	0	4	1	1	1	33	1	1	0	16	1
De la Motte's	0	3	0	16	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	42	2	2	0	10	1
Sydow's, formerly Hardenberg's	0	2	0	18	0	0	0	6	0	2	0	6	1	7	2	69	0	0	0	7	5
Soldier-Artificer Company	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	3	0	30	0	0	0	23	0
Marine Brigade	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	8	0	0	0	0	0
Corsican Comp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	19	2	197	1	6	2	101	3	13	2	120	31	46	20	773	7	22	2	505	43

ABSTRACT OF THE TOTAL LOSS OF THE GARRISON.

Killed, and dead of wounds	333
Disabled by wounds (discharged)	138
Dead of sickness, exclusive of those who died of the scurvy in 1779 and 1780	536
Discharged from incurable complaints	181
Deserted	43
Total	1231

EXPENDITURE OF AMMUNITION FROM THE GARRISON AND BY THE ENEMY.*

GARRISON.

Commencing the 12th of September, 1779, and ending the 3rd of February, 1783.

MONTHS.	Shot.	Shells.	Grape.	Carcasses.	Light balls.
1779.					
Sept. 12 to 30	1767	201	—	—	—
October	372	1116	1	—	6
November	57	183	5	—	—
December	82	63	6	—	4
1780.					
January	88	131	38	—	—
February	2	6	3	—	—
March	17	7	3	—	—
April	6	—	—	—	—
May	8	—	6	—	—
June	123	—	—	—	—
July	246	—	—	—	—
August	56	—	—	—	—
September	6	—	—	—	—
October	85	243	73	1	160
November	771	6004	510	63	64
December	160	4242	250	79	54
1781.					
January	33	875	63	22	8
February	32	346	76	9	—
March	23	221	17	13	—
April	2672	2494	26	2	—
May	804	2782	23	6	—
June	828	2250	104	35	3
July	428	761	51	13	5
August	130	172	103	56	2
September	2614	6228	213	58	42
October	1722	11515	64	19	53
November	509	3587	82	33	5
December	632	7119	139	60	44
1782.					
January	722	11052	132	60	23
February	2617	7295	177	21	19
March	3667	10362	733	56	45
April	2314	2768	370	—	—
May	2315	1669	352	—	14
June	2052	178	263	1	8
July	228	37	100	—	13
August	5441	1781	1047	3	48
September	13557	3262	479	215	—
October	2604	6881	735	12	14
November	1937	5701	1157	74	17
December	2596	12159	1422	26	3
1783.					
January	2640	14176	3444	42	25
February	210	1047	414	—	—
Total	57163	129161	12681	926	679

ENEMY.

Commencing the 12th of April, 1781, and ending the 2nd of February, 1783.

MONTHS.	Agreeable to the Laboratory Accounts.	
	Shot.	Shells.
Enemy silent.	—	—
1781.		
April 12 to May 31	56760	20134 (Computed)
June	8799	2643
July	3036	698
August	1350	134
September	9320	760
October	15764	2750
November	2430	1120
December	3378	1010
1782.		
January	4342	1012
February	3046	566
March	5828	1313
April	3541	938
May	2418	856
June	2190	653
July	—	—
August	750	30 (Computed exclusive of the battering-ships.)
September	36432	16993 (Computed exclusive of the battering-ships.)
October	11312	10673 (Computed exclusive of the battering-ships.)
November	2897	3243 (Computed exclusive of the battering-ships.)
December	1036	1958 (Computed exclusive of the battering-ships.)
1783.		
January	1067	680
February	55	144
Total	175741	68363

Total	200,600 rounds.	Total	244,104 rounds, all of a heavy nature.
British gun-boats	4,728 shot.	Spanish gun-boats	14,283 shot and shells.
	205,328		258,387

The garrison expended very near 8,000 barrels of powder; and the number of ordnance damaged and destroyed during the siege amounted to 63.

The number of barrels of powder expended by the enemy could never be ascertained, nor what ordnance were destroyed.

An Estimate of the Prices fixed upon Provisions by a Committee of Officers, at Gibraltar, October the 23rd, 1782. To which is annexed the price of various articles, as they were sold at different Periods of the Blockade and Siege.

The sums are turned into sterling, at the average exchange of 3*s.* 3*d.* the dollar; though the Garrison exchange fluctuated between 3*s.* 4*d.* and 3*s.* 6*d.*

Prices limited by the Committee.	£	s.	d.	Prices during the Blockade.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Fresh beef, veal, and mutton, per lb.	0	2	6	From	0	2	1	to	0	4	10½
Pork, ditto	0	1	3	„	0	2	1	„	0	4	1
Ducks and fowls, per couple	0	9	9	„	0	13	0	„	1	1	11½
A goose	0	11	0						1	10	4
A turkey	0	14	7½						2	8	9
A pair of pigeons	0	3	3						0	9	9
Corned beef, per lb.	0	1	3	Round of beef, per lb.					0	2	11
Corned pork, ditto	0	0	10	Salt beef and pork, ditto					0	1	3
Ham, ditto	0	1	10½						0	4	1
Bacon and dried tongues, ditto	0	1	3						0	3	3
Cheese, ditto	0	1	3						0	4	1
Salt butter, ditto	0	1	10½	From	0	2	6	to	0	4	1
An egg	0	0	2½	per dozen					0	4	10½
Pickled tripe, per lb.	0	1	3								
Potatoes, ditto	0	0	7½						0	2	6
Loaf sugar, ditto	0	2	6	Sold at an Auction for					0	17	1
Powder sugar, ditto	0	2	1	From	0	2	6	to	0	4	10½
Best green tea, ditto	1	1	11½	„	1	8	0	„	2	5	6
Bohea or Souchong, ditto	0	13	0								
Coffee, ditto	0	1	10½						0	5	9
Flour, ditto	0	0	7½	From	0	1	3	„	0	2	1
Mould candles, ditto	0	1	0½								
Common, ditto	0	0	10						0	2	6
A hogshead of porter	5	13	9½								
Bottled porter (with bottles), per doz.	0	14	7½								
A hogshead of port wine	24	7	6								
Port wine (with bottles), per doz.	1	12	5½								
Good common wine, per gallon	0	4	11	Malaga wine, per bottle					0	4	10½
Inferior, ditto, ditto	0	3	8						0	2	6
Claret (with bottles), per doz.	1	17	4½								
Best fish, per lb.	0	1	3	These articles were generally sold, according to their size and quality, at most exorbitant rates.							
Inferior kind, ditto	0	0	10								
Small fry, ditto	0	0	7½								

This estimate afterwards underwent some small alteration by the Committee, the wines being fixed, they thought, at too low a price. Beside the articles mentioned under the head of the Blockade price, the following sold in the course of the siege for the sums annexed to them:—

	£	s.	d.
A calf's head and feet	1	14	1½
A calf's pluck	0	14	7½
Hind quarter, with the head and tail of an Algerine sheep	7	10	0
Head and feet of a sheep	0	14	7½
A bullock's head, without tongue	1	3	4½

	£	s.	d.
A bullock's heart	0	9	9
A goat's head	0	8	1½
Onions, per lb.	0	2	6
A cabbage	0	1	7½
A bunch of cabbage-leaves	0	0	5
A bunch of carrots and turnips	0	1	0½
A small bunch of radishes	0	0	5
A pint of milk and water	0	1	3
A lemon	0	0	5
A quill	0	0	6½
A live pig sold for	9	14	9

A large sow in pig sold for upwards of 20*l.* A goat, with a young kid, both of which had been purchased in England for 15*s.*, sold in the garrison, when the latter was about twelve months old, for near 12*l.* An English milch-cow was sold, in 1780, for 50 guineas; reserving to the seller a pint of milk each day whilst she gave milk; and another cow was purchased by a Jew for 60 guineas, but the beast was in so feeble a condition, that she dropped down dead before she had been removed many hundred yards. If these facts were not thought sufficient to demonstrate the exorbitant prices of every article in the garrison, others could be adduced of equally as surprising a complexion.

The following are the proportions of the Prize-Money, as distributed to the Garrison of Gibraltar, from the sums arising from the Head-Money granted by Parliament for destroying the Battering-Ships, and the sale of the "St. Michael" man-of-war.

The subsequent sums are proportions of 30,000*l.*, which was the sum first divided.

	£	s.	d.
The governor, 1-16th	1875	0	0
Lieutenant-governor	937	10	0
Major-general	468	15	0
Brigadier-general	267	10	0
Colonel	156	1	0
Lieutenant-colonel	80	16	0
Major	57	15	6

	£	s.	d.
Captain	43	10	1
Lieutenant	25	5	6
Second lieutenant and ensign	22	0	6½
Sergeant	3	6	9
Corporal	2	0	11½
Private	1	9	1

A second Act of Parliament afterwards passed, for granting to the garrison whatever might be fished up from the wrecks of the battering-ships; and those employed in this duty proceeded with such success, that brass and iron cannon, with other articles, were recovered to a considerable value.

Two divisions, of 16,000*l.* and 8,000*l.*, have since been distributed; the latter of which, it is imagined, will be the last.

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